

1984 Festival of American Folklife



Smithsonian Institution National Park Service

The Eskimo blanket toss is a popular event at such celebrations as the annual Eskimo Indian Olympics. This scene is only one of thirty-two in the repertoire of Eva Heffle, an Inupiaq Eskimo originally from Kotzebue. Her dolls have wooden faces with painted features, seed bead eyes and sheep skin or synthetic hair. Their bodies are of cloth; costumes are made from both animal skins and man-made fabrics such as corduroy or calico. The blanket is from walrus hide. Photo Courtesy Alaska State Council on the Arts/Photo by Chris Arend

A portion of Ethel Mohamed's embroidered tapestry of the 1976 Festival of American Folklife. Ethel Mohamed is a traditional needleworker from Belzoni, Mississippi. She learned the art of embroidery from her mother when she was a young girl. Her brightly colored embroideries recount the saga of her own family and community. This particular work represents Mrs. Mohamed's memories of the 1976 Festival of American Folklife. Photo by Al Herold

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June 27-July 1, July 4-8

This Year at the Festival

by Diana Parker and Peter Seitel
Festival Co-Directors

Each year brings talented new participants to the Festival of American Folklife. It is indeed fortunate for the Smithsonian, but even more fortunate for our Nation as a whole, that traditional culture still survives and even thrives in places, and that some of its practitioners are generous and brave enough to come to Washington to demonstrate and perform their cultural legacy before national audiences. Every year these keepers of tradition come to speak with their own voices under the aegis of our National Museum. We are honored by their presence and grateful to them for maintaining, often in the face of powerful totalizing forces, a cultural and aesthetic richness on our planet.

This year marks a change in Festival administration, noteworthy not because of any change in goals or policies, but because the transition gives us opportunity to remember publicly that it was Ralph Rinzler who began the Festival in 1967 and directed it until last year when he became the Institution's Assistant Secretary for Public Service. Ralph devised the model for scholarly research, planning and production that has made the Festival unique and worthy of continued support by the Institution and of emulation by other folklife festival planners around the Nation. He also created an environment in which innovation has been encouraged, and cross-fertilization of ideas has led to healthy growth. This steady development in the cultural ideas presented in our free, outdoor, festive, educational entertainment has happened under Ralph Rinzler's careful supervision and with his guidance at important turning points.

In future years, be assured, the same goals will continue to inform the Festival project, not only because we remain committed to them, but also because Mr. Rinzler remains our boss in the Smithsonian administrative structure. We hope to continue to benefit from his guidance and encouragement.

Festival of American Folklife Program Book
Smithsonian Institution © 1984
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Typesetter: Harlowe Typography Inc
Printer: The Art Litho Company

Contents

- 2 *This Year at the Festival* by Diana Parker and Peter Seitel, Festival Co-Directors
- 4 *The Value of Continuity* by S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary, Smithsonian Institution
- 5 *Our American Cultural Heritage* by Russell E. Dickenson, Director, National Park Service
- 6 *Alaska's Rich Lode of Occupational Folklife* by Peter Seitel, Festival Co-Director
- 10 *Adaptation and Innovation in Tlingit and Haida Salmon Fisheries* by Steve J. Langdon
- 15 *Smoking and Curing Fish in Alaska, Norwegian Style* by Charles W. Smythe
- 18 *Grandmotherly Knowledge, Grandfatherly Knowledge: Alaska's Traditional Native Arts* by Suzi Jones
- 22 *Yupik Dancing* by Ann Fienup-Riordan
- 25 *Alaska Native Oral Tradition* by Nora and Richard Dauenhauer
- 28 *Folk Arts and the Elderly* by Bess Lomax Hawes
- 32 *All of Life's a Stage: The Aesthetics of Life Review* by Mary Hufford
- 36 *Life Not Death in Venice: The Israel Levin Center Project* by Barbara Myerhoff
- 39 *Black American Urban Culture* by Bernice Reagon
- 43 *Street Dancing, "Rapping" and DJ Mixing: Traditional African-American Performance and Contemporary Urban Culture* by LeeEllen Friedland
- 46 *Black Philadelphia* A Photo Essay by Roland Freeman
- 48 *Foodways in a Festival Setting* by Charles Camp
- 51 *Continuity and Tradition in Foodways* by Joan Nathan
- 54 *Evolution of the Southern Potting Tradition* by Nancy Sweezy



The Value of Continuity

by S. Dillon Ripley
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution

The 1984 Festival of American Folklife is especially significant for the Smithsonian and, I might add, pleasing to me, because it brings vibrant representatives of cultures with which the Institution has a special affinity.

From Alaska come native peoples whose rich traditions have been our concern even before the founding of the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1879. For more than a century, the Institution has devoted a large part of its scholarly effort to the documentation and preservation of the deep and varied cultures of the indigenous peoples of the Americas. To the keepers of these important traditions I bid welcome and extend our gratitude for sharing with us your skills and knowledge.

Also from Alaska come representatives of occupations whose labor and cultural expression have shaped that State in a profound way. Smithsonian involvement with occupational culture goes back to the marvelous accomplishments of industry exhibited in our museums, built by workers whose minds, hands and eyes inherited a cultural legacy from their fellow craftsmen. More direct involvement with the history and culture of work came with the Institution's Festival of American Folklife, which since 1967 has presented folklife demonstrations and performances from over 60 occupational groups. The National Museum of American History has also recently taken direct steps to include the history of working people among its steely monuments of their industry.

That Museum is also home for a research unit which documents another American cultural group represented at this year's Festival. The Festival presentation of Black American expressive culture from Philadelphia is reflected in the Program in Black American Culture in the National Museum of American History. The evanescent Festival presentations, which have featured Black American folklife since 1967, together with the permanent Museum program, attest to the importance the Smithsonian attaches to this aspect of American culture.

The abiding Institutional commitment to participants of the Festival program "The Grand Generation: Folklore and Aging" is, in a sense, philosophical in nature. We honor these elder craftsmen, performers, cooks and storytellers for maintaining the traditions that keep us in touch with our cultural foundations. This core of aesthetic and moral values helps to order and give meaning to our lives. We feel the conservation role of these elders—the preserving and passing down of our heritage—is much the same as that of the Smithsonian.

We welcome and offer our respect to these elder keepers of tradition, and also to Alaskans and Philadelphians, as one conservation organization to another.

Our American Cultural Heritage

by Russell E. Dickenson, Director,
National Park Service

The National Park Service welcomes you to the annual Festival of American Folklife. We are pleased to co-sponsor with the Smithsonian Institution this celebration of our nation's heritage. The Festival site is the National Mall, which is administered by the National Park Service. The Mall is administered by the National Park Service; it is particularly significant that the Festival is held on such lands, as National Parks are set aside to provide a full representation of the American story and to relate the achievements, customs and cultures of its people. The Festival serves this purpose, telling the American story through music, crafts and celebrations.

The National Mall was set aside in 1790 under the L'Enfant Plan for the city of Washington. Extending from the Capitol to the Washington Monument, the Mall comprises 146 acres and is bordered by dynamic monuments, memorials and magnificent museums and art galleries which pay tribute to America's place in the arts, sciences and history, and reflect the cumulative genius of its people.

Among the more than 330 areas in the National Park system, the Alaska parks include some of the newest and the oldest and certainly some of the most spectacular parks. In addition to preserving their natural beauty, the Alaska parks also conserve much of the Alaskan native lifestyle related to fishing and other subsistence occupations. Many of these traditions from the state of Alaska and the contributions its native peoples have made to America will be seen on the National Mall as you visit this year's Festival.

We hope your visit will be enjoyable and will include a few moments to partake of the natural beauty found in the parks of our Nation's Capital.



Alaska's Rich Lode of Occupational Folklife

by Peter Seitel

Since 1975, Peter Seitel has done research on the occupational folklife of fifteen occupational groups in the U.S. He also does folklore research in Tanzania and Kenya

The Alaska program has been made possible by the state of Alaska Department of Commerce and Economic Development through its Division of Tourism and the Alaska Seafood Marketing Institute. Additional funding has been made available through private and corporate donations.

Aboard Captain Sigurd ("Sig") Mathisen's boat, the *Marathon*, crewman Darrell Flora (left) and Steve Berry (right) haul in the many fathoms of line attached to a 500 lb crab pot. Working, respectively, the gurdy and the power block, Darrell and Steve raise the pot from the bottom to the surface, where Sig operates a crane and lifts it from the water onto the *Marathon's* deck.

Metaphors of gold and the mine come easily when speaking of the occupational folklife of Alaskans. So rich and densely symbolic are both gold and the occupational lives of the men and women who turn the Alaskan land to profit, so integral to the dramatic sweep of the Alaskan frontier are both, and so dependent for their economic value on the giant boom and bust fluctuations of international trade, that sometimes for those in "the lower forty-eight" both gold and the lives of Alaskan loggers, fishermen, bush pilots and gold miners are surrounded by an aura that places them at once into the realm of the symbolic, the epic and the heroic.

When the national and international economy is healthy enough to demand the lumber that southeastern Alaska grows and harvests, Alaskan loggers still share the robust life of logging camps. Brought together in such communities, dependent on one another for social life as well as safety in the woods, Alaskan loggers have developed rich traditions of work techniques for handling the giant timber of the Pacific coast and a rich lore that communicates the human dimensions of work in the woods.

The timber industry was established on a large scale in southern Alaska with an increase in the worldwide demand for wood pulp about 30 years ago. Before then, timber was cut and sawed in Alaskan mills largely to make shipping boxes for canned salmon. The industry was an extension of logging in the Pacific Northwest states of Washington and Oregon, and ties remain close between the two regions. At hiring halls in Seattle able bodied "tramp loggers" (men who live single, in bunk houses) were often given advance money for airfare and a pair of caulk boots (essential logging gear), then channeled up to one of the camps in Southeast. Eventually, the towns around Seattle also became home for many retired Alaskan loggers.





Alaskan logger's lore gives names to, comments upon, and remembers the history of work and life in logging camps. Nicknames establish distinct occupational personalities: Grubstake, Packsack Louie, Rhode Island Red, Coos Bay Shortie, and many others (some unfit for a family publication). Packsack's name reflects the inclination of many tramp loggers to quit work at one camp seemingly at a whim and go to work for another. It is said that Packsack once declared he would leave a particular camp because his demand for asparagus at breakfast was met with hot asparagus rather than the cold ones he claimed to have wanted. One group of three loggers, friends supporting one another in a joke, left camp on the same day they entered when they heard the camp was scheduled to be in operation for ten years; they said they did not want such short-term work.

Bush pilots have their stories as well. Many seem to be about the limits of the world of flight that they try to press but not transgress. Stories about almost too heavy loads or unusual ones: a live cow or bear, or oxygen tanks propped out the airplane's side windows, like 2"x4"s out the car window of a weekend repairman. Stories also can be heard of near disasterous landings and of the barely visible treacheries of turbulent wind over a water landing spot. Bush pilots also tell of flying in difficult weather to assist people in extreme conditions, like a badly injured logger or a woman having a difficult childbirth.

Bush pilots and air-taxi operators fly to places otherwise accessible only by dogsled, boat or foot. Traditionally, bush pilots fly anywhere, landing on glaciers with ski-type landing gear, on river sandbars or in thick mud. The more modern air-taxi operators fly only to improved landing strips, of

The fishermen empty the crab pot, repair it, re-bait it, and sort out the king crabs large enough to keep.

Sig shows a nice sized specimen as Darrell, in the background, closes the pot in preparation for its replacement on the ocean bottom
Photos by Peter Seitel



which there are many all over the State. Although in the past there seems to have been a division of opinion between those pilots who valued safety and careful judgment and those who had a more devil-may-care attitude, the question seems definitely to have been decided in favor of the more level heads, who at any rate have survived in greater numbers to have their opinions heard. Although he clearly has considerable luck on his side, the famous flier who is said to have crashed 30 planes in 28 years is not an example to be emulated.

Safe passage is also a value emphasized by fishermen in their occupational tales. In addition to stressing sound judgment, they frequently remark on the years of occupational experience that enable one to know intimate details of shoreline and local weather patterns, thereby finding one's true position even under blinding conditions.

The fisheries of Alaska are many: salmon, halibut, king crab, dungeness crab, tanner crab, herring, shrimp, black cod, albacore and others. Each has its own fishing techniques, methods of preservation, markets, forms of regulation, and its own sometimes turbulent history in the State. Salmon, halibut, and other species were fished in Alaska long before the coming of Europeans. The first outsiders to exploit salmon as a commercial enterprise were the Russians, who held claim to Alaska prior to 1867. By the turn of the century, the salmon canning enterprises of the Pacific Northwest had extended themselves into southeastern Alaska, using giant floating traps to corral and catch the hoards of migrating fish. The companies established canneries run by workers imported from China and later the Philippines. The salmon fisheries have often been an arena of conflict, as competing groups of fishermen have sought to exploit the same waters (for one aspect of this conflict, see pp. 10-14 in this program book).

Increasing numbers of fishermen and greater efficiency of equipment, especially through the use of power hauling, have placed ever greater demand on the natural resource of fish. Fishermen, biologists, and administrators have recognized the necessity of regulating the size of catches to conserve this valuable resource by opening and closing waters to fishing activity. Open seasons have been getting progressively shorter, with the halibut season down to three days for the entire year. The season on roe herring (herring roe being a delicacy much prized by Japanese) is only a few hours, due equally to the great number and efficiency of the fishermen and to the reproductive cycle of the fish. In those few hours, though, a crewman may earn fifteen to twenty thousand dollars. Much commercial fishing in Alaska is structured by relatively short periods of furious activity, followed by relatively long periods of preparation and passing the time.

The epitome of boom and bust cycles is of course goldmining itself, represented at this year's Festival by miners from the Fairbanks area. Not only do a miner's finances fluctuate with his luck and skill in finding a valuable claim; his activity cycle also swings from full bore mining and sluicing the gold-bearing gravel in summer to relative inactivity in winter, when water freezes and the sluice box ices over. The lore of goldmining turns on the uncertainty of economic reward, on the isolation inherent in a non-industrial type mining, and sometimes on the beauty of the landscape itself.

The techniques of placer (pronounced "plasser") mining are shaped by the geological formation in which the gold is found. In placer deposits, gold pieces, ranging from specks to nuggets, have been mixed geologi-



A member of the "telling crew" at work
Photo by Art Brooks

cally among particles, rocks and boulders of other minerals. Miners first uncover the loose, gold-bearing gravel by removing the "overburden," or top layer of soil. Then they extract the gold by using the action of flowing water on the gravel. Because gold is so relatively heavy per unit of volume, it is not moved as easily by flowing water, but collects as a sediment while other minerals flow by. There are several ways of making water flow through gold-bearing gravel to extract the gold. Alaskan miners demonstrate two at the Festival: the pan and the sluice-box.

Many gold mines are now run by families, and so women and children take their places in occupational tradition alongside of "sourdoughs," the name given to those who first rushed to Alaska in 1886 to pan gold on the Forty Mile River, and those who rushed to the Klondike in 1897. Gold-mining is inextricably tied to the history of Alaska, and gold miners and their families proudly see their own work in the context of a long tradition.

Alaskan occupational traditions, like those found in all lands, give meaning to the world of work. Through these traditions workers know the history and development of their occupation, share similar feelings about remembered events and people, and learn from the skills and knowledge of experienced hands. Occupational cultures, especially like the Alaskan traditions presented at this year's Festival, also have a second side to them — an outside, in the sense that they have symbolic or heroic meaning for us outsiders. The romantic image of the gold miner, the logger, the fisherman and the bush pilot have peopled the popular and literary imagination as symbols of the epic confrontation between society and nature. For these Alaskan workers themselves, however, occupational life has more to do with productivity, safety and camaraderie, even though the Alaskan land and sea they make their profit from is, for them and us, among the most dramatically beautiful and valuable on earth.

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Adaptation and Innovation in Tlingit and Haida Salmon Fisheries

by Steve J. Langdon

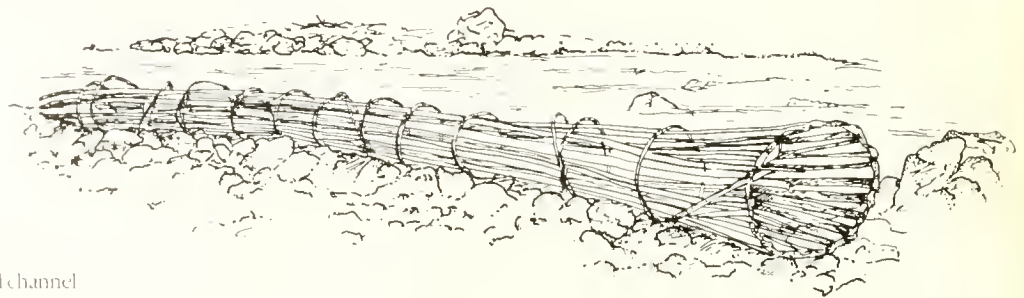
Steve Langdon received his PhD in anthropology from Stanford University in 1977. He is currently an Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Alaska, Anchorage. He has conducted extensive field research on the development of fishing systems in Alaska, and socioeconomic and sociocultural aspects of fisheries throughout the state.

Illustrations by Daphne Shuttleworth

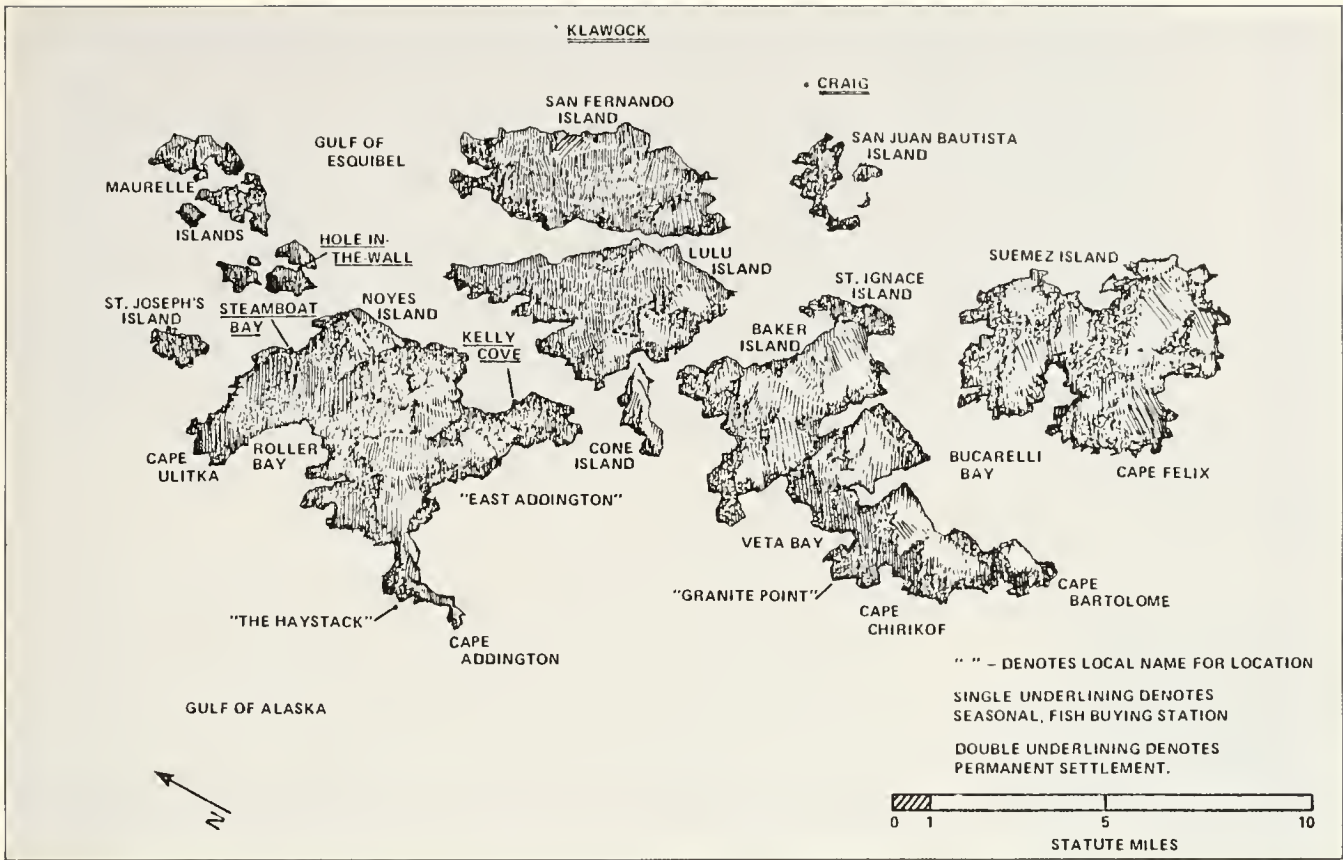
The first salmon cannery in southeast Alaska was established at Klawock in 1878, setting in motion an historical process of conflict over salmon resources, technological competition and innovation which continues to this day. One of the most interesting episodes in this story took place on the west coast of the Prince of Wales Archipelago, where the indigenous Hena Tlingit and Kaigani Haida developed new fishing areas and techniques to adapt to Euro-American competition.

Salmon was the staff of life in precontact Tlingit and Haida society. The west coast of Prince of Wales Island is home to five species of Pacific salmon (*Oncorhynchus* sp.). King salmon, the largest of the Pacific salmon, do not spawn in Prince of Wales streams, but, traditionally, migrating fish were caught out of canoes by trolling bone hooks through the water. Stone weirs (fences) were built in tidal estuaries and at other shallow locations where salmon were known to school on their migration back from the north Pacific to their natal streams. These devices were used for pink and chum salmon, the most numerous species returning to Prince of Wales streams, whose food quality quickly deteriorates when they reach freshwater. Cedar weirs and traps were erected in the streams to harvest the sockeye and coho salmon, the most valued of the species because of their retention of fat content in freshwater.

From May to October, harvesting, processing and storage of salmon for winter consumption was the primary activity of the Tlingit and Haida house group. The house group consisted of 20-40 matrilineally related kinsmen headed by the *yitsati*, or house chief. As a corporate descent group, the house held title to its cedar planked home, names, titles, crests, mortuary poles, masks and other ceremonial regalia. Because the house group held communal title to salmon streams, Tlingit and Haida recognized and honored the territorial rights of each house group to the tradi-



Indian salmon trap alongside artificial channel in stream



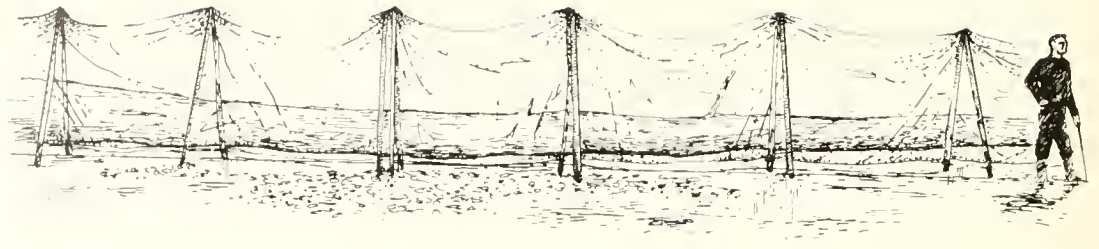
tional streams from which salmon were obtained. Use of the stream was restricted to its members; others were required to obtain authorization from the relevant *yitsati* before using the stream.

After the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867, several Euro-Americans came to the Prince of Wales Archipelago to establish salteries — commercial enterprises which salted salmon for shipment and sale outside of Alaska. In general, these enterprises respected the territorial claims and rights of Indian people and paid a rental fee to the appropriate *yitsati* for use of his house group's stream. At the same time, saltery men introduced the Tlingit and Haida to a new harvesting technique, the beach seine — a small 50-75 fathom net which was deployed by two skiffs and four to six men to harvest salmon on the sandy beaches in the small bays and estuaries below the mouths of the streams. The Tlingit and Haida quickly adopted this new technique and used it to provide salmon for the salteries.

Major fishing grounds in the vicinity of Craig Klawoek, Alaska



Indian salmon weirs and traps in operation



Barricade created by Euro American cannery men to block the ascent of salmon to spawning grounds.

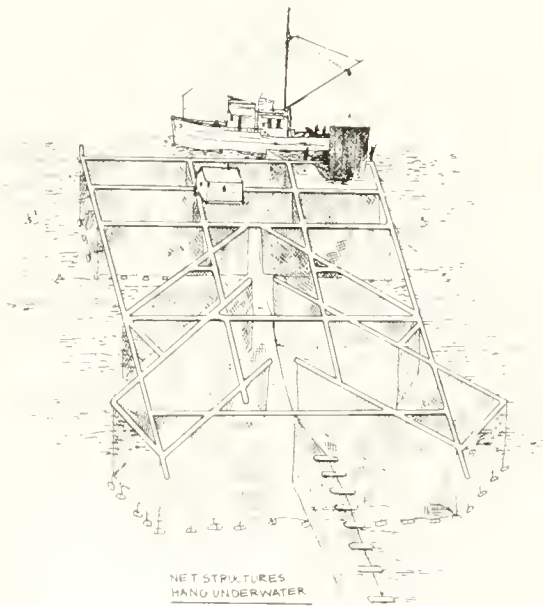
The demand of the salteries for salmon was limited due to capital costs and processing methods. The appearance of canneries in 1878 changed the picture dramatically. Even at this early date salmon canning was a highly efficient industrial operation which could process many times more salmon than the salteries. The cannery at Klawock was soon seeking sockeye from most of the major systems on the west coast of Prince of Wales Island.

The canned salmon industry also proved to be profitable, and in the late 1880s a spurt of construction spread canneries throughout southeast Alaska. When the Pacific Steam Whaling Company erected a major new plant south of Klawock at Hunter's Bay, Tlingit and Haida property rights were ignored, and the competition for sockeye soon led to the decline of the resource. Many canneries erected barriers in the streams to inhibit the salmon's migration to their spawning locations but, unlike the Tlingit and Haida, did not remove the barricades to allow enough salmon to escape. These practices soon led the canneries to need additional salmon supplies, so they turned to the seemingly inexhaustible supplies of pink and dog salmon found in virtually every stream on Prince of Wales Island.

These depredations caused serious hardships to the resident Tlingit and Haida. Federal Bureau of Fisheries researcher Jefferson Moser, who visited the area in 1897, reported that serious declines were occurring in runs to most streams due to the erection of barricades, as delegations of chiefs came to him at every stop to relate their concerns:

... Everywhere the Indians were greatly exercised over their condition. These streams, under their own administration, for centuries have belonged to certain families or clans settled in the vicinity, and their rights in these streams have never been infringed upon until the advent of the whites. They claim the white man is crowding them from their houses, robbing them of their ancestral rights, taking away their fish by shiploads; that their streams must soon become exhausted; that the Indian will have no supply to maintain himself and family, and that starvation must follow.

Although the Tlingit and Haida never regained their property rights to salmon, they fought back by adapting to the new purse seine gear which allowed them to catch the salmon in open water and by building mobile fishing vessels. In 1907 however, a new technology, the floating fish trap, was introduced which created fresh conflicts and threats to the Tlingit and Haida. A capital intensive harvesting technique, it could be placed in the bays and inlets further away from the stream mouths. The Tlingit, Haida, as well as Euro-American fishermen quickly perceived the danger posed to their livelihood by this new technique. By the mid-1920s, the cannery owners had deployed the traps throughout southeast Alaska and obtained the majority of their harvests from this device. Further, federal regulations



Floating traps, invented by J. R. Hechmann in 1907, have harvested the majority of salmon from 1920 to 1960



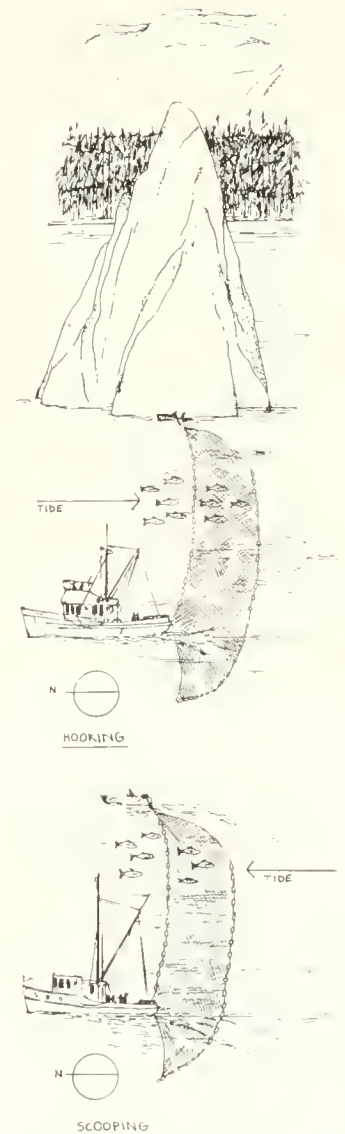
Purse seine fleet circa 1920.
 Photo by John N. Cobb, courtesy of Historical
 Photography Collection, University of Washington
 Libraries

were established requiring that no fishing, by trap or mobile gear (seines), could be conducted within a half mile of another trap. As locations by which salmon were known to travel were gradually preempted by trap sites, the Tlingit and Haida fishermen were continually forced to seek out new grounds. By the 1930s, advances in vessel design and seine construction allowed them to fish locations systematically on the west coast of Noyes, Baker, and Dall Islands, where salmon were known to appear regularly on their inshore migration. Only here were they able to realize some respite from the traps, as the waters of the north Pacific were too unpredictably tempestuous for the fish traps to operate effectively.

The search for new fishing grounds to intercept the salmon before they reached the traps was but one element in the Tlingit and Haida struggle against the traps. They used the Alaska Native Brotherhood, a fraternal order founded in 1912, to wage political battle against the cannery owners in an attempt to have the traps outlawed. In addition, they sabotaged the traps. Finally, they became "fish pirates" by stealing from the traps and selling the filched fish back to the cannery owner from whose trap the fish had been taken.

The ecological genius of the Tlingit and Haida fishermen is exemplified in their adaptation to the new north Pacific fishing grounds and conditions. In the period before World War II, the "hook-offs" (locations past which salmon migrated and at which seines could be used safely) could only be used at certain stages of the tide due to limitations of technology. The tidal flow in these areas generally sweeps north and south across the headlands at three to six knots. Salmon, however, are traveling from north to south on their homeward migrations, so that to catch them successfully, the seine must take the shape of a broadened U (called a "hook"). The effectiveness of this configuration stems from the salmon's confusion, as they discover continuous net when funneled toward the deepest part of the U. The seine, if laid out well, functions like a three-sided corral, but, if flattened, loses its effectiveness, as the salmon are able to escape by swimming around each end of the net.

In the 1930s and 1940s, the seine fishing unit consisted of a 40-50 foot gasoline powered vessel on the stern of which was piled the seine and a small wooden skiff with oars. Locations to fish in the north Pacific were selected either where the small skiff could be tied to the shore or where a man could jump off and tie the end of the seine to a rock. The main vessel would then steam away from shore, playing the net out behind it. This technique could only be used when the tide was flowing in the same



"Hooking" and "scooping" at "The Haystack"
 (see map)



Purse seiners (left) in operation circa 1950
Photo by Robert J. Browning



Purse seiners (right) in operation off Noyes Island, 1974 (see map)
Photo courtesy of Don Kalk

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direction as the fish were migrating, that is, from north to south. When the tide changed back every six hours, the fishermen had to "anchor up" because the south to north tidal flow would flatten the seine. The salmon, however, were not inhibited by the tidal flow against them as they continued on by, often in massive numbers.

After World War II, gasoline outboard engines were added by the Tlingit and Haida to the wooden skiffs, which were then deepened to handle the greater power. In order for the seine to function when the tide was flowing from south to north, the main vessel and the skiff had to tow the seine through the water faster than the speed of the tide. Only in this way could the necessary U configuration of the seine be obtained. Such a maneuver required an enormous amount of horsepower to overcome the drag effect from the towed seine as well as coordination between the captain and the skiffman to insure that the "hook" was maintained as the unit moved north. Finally, a long stretch of shoreline with appropriate depth, unencumbered by reefs, rocks, or other obstacles was also required. This new technique, first developed around 1950, was known as "scooping" to indicate the manner in which Indians were gathering the salmon as they moved down the shoreline rather than waiting for the fish to come to them. It restructured radically the purse seine fishery by doubling the amount of time available to harvest fish.

Major changes have come to the purse seine fishery of southeast Alaska since 1950. Power blocks, half purses, diesel powered aluminum skiffs, radar, radios, "fishfinders" and limited entry permits are now a part of the seascape. But when you go on the "outside," to Granite Point on Baker Island or the Haystack off Noyes Island, you will still find Tlingit and Haida fishermen "hooking" and "scooping" in the quest for salmon.

Smoking and Curing Fish in Alaska, Norwegian Style

by Charles W. Smythe

Referred to as “little Norway in Alaska” by its residents, Petersburg is situated on the northwest point of Mitkof Island, midway between Juneau and Ketchikan. A Norwegian fisherman named Peter Buschmann built a cannery on his homestead there in 1896 to take advantage of the abundant salmon runs in the area as well as its closeness to Frederick Sound, one of the best inside halibut fishing grounds in Alaska.

The snow-capped coastal mountains, forest, sky and water provided a beautiful setting. As the community grew, Buschmann encouraged permanent settlement by giving away land to people to build houses with lumber he sold from his sawmill. The timber resource was also valuable to the developing fishing industry, yielding the raw materials for salting barrels and packing crates used for shipping canned salmon.

On the existing shipping route, steamers passed by the Petersburg site as they entered the Wrangell Narrows on their way south from Skagway, Juneau and Sitka to Ketchikan and Seattle. Fish was transported to southern markets on these ships. Using the ice which floats into the Narrows from nearby LeConte and Thomas Bay Glaciers, fish packers were able to keep the fish cold – particularly the halibut – on the long trip to Seattle, providing another means of preservation in addition to canning and salting.

Although not the first inhabitants of the area – Tlingit Indians from Kake had established fish camps on the north end of Mitkof Island – Norwegians were nevertheless the first to develop a permanent community. Norwegian fishermen from the Seattle area, accustomed to fishing Alaskan waters for salmon and halibut, and others who came directly from Norway were attracted by the fishing opportunities. Five species of salmon were plentiful in summer months, and cod and halibut, traditional Norwegian seafood, were available during the remaining months. Herring, used for halibut bait, could also be caught in winter months.

Charles W. Smythe, a social anthropologist with the Chilkat Institute in Anchorage, Alaska, has conducted research throughout the State and in Australia. He has taught at the University of Alaska and conducted extensive research and written reports on the cultural and economic systems of Alaska natives.

View of Petersburg Harbor from the cannery dock.
Photos by Charles W. Smythe



Through the years, other seafoods have been added to the Petersburg fishing repertoire, including shrimp, king and tanner crab and, most recently, herring roe. The shrimp fishery, a longstanding industry in Alaska, was started in Petersburg. Since different methods of harvesting are used for the various species, by changing gear types fishermen were able to fish for many months of the year and provide themselves a stable source of income. Presently, the high cost of gear and restricted seasons have made the more traditional methods, such as long-lining for halibut and trolling for salmon, less economical.

Norwegians brought with them their customary methods of smoking and curing fish. In their diet, fish is a staple in the way red meat is to many Americans. The Petersburg fishery included those species to which Norwegians were accustomed – grey cod, halibut, and herring – and quickly adopted several more such as steelhead and salmon species (white and red king, red, silver, humpie and chum salmon). Another fish, the black cod, is unique to Alaska and has become one of the favored delicacies when smoked and prepared in Norwegian fashion.

The Norwegian style of preserving fish is the “cold smoke,” in which the temperature is kept low and the fish is cured in the process, rather than cooked or kippered. This method requires a relatively high smokehouse, so that the fish hang well above the heat source generating the smoke. An interior height of eight feet is adequate. Alder is the preferred wood for smoking in Petersburg and elsewhere in Alaska, giving a better flavor than hickory.

For best results, black cod, like other fish, is cleaned and bled (including removing the gills) immediately after it is caught. To prepare for smoking, the fish are “split” – sliced in half lengthwise to remove the backbone and most other bones – washed, and soaked in salt brine solution for about three hours. After soaking, the sides are rinsed in fresh water to remove the salt and hung in the smokehouse for about 18-20 hours of cold smoking. They are then carefully wrapped and frozen until ready for cooking.

Smoked black cod is served in the traditional Norwegian meal of boiled fish and potatoes. Boiled fish is considered very good for the stomach; Petersburg townspeople say it is served in Norwegian hospitals to people with stomach ailments and that one sleeps very quietly after such a meal.

The fish is poached by putting it in a pot of cold water and bringing it to a boil. When it starts to boil, the pot is removed from the fire and set off to the side for a few minutes before serving. Melted butter is served with the fish and peeled potatoes. A “sweet soup,” similar to stewed prunes or other fruit, is served with cod along with bread or crackers.

Another Petersburg delicacy is lox made by the cold smoke process. The most favored fish for this is steelhead, followed by white king, red king, red, silver and humpbacked salmon. Using fresh frozen fish, the method entails first curing the fish in a mild salt. To prepare the fish for salting, smaller fish are sliced (as described above) and shallow slits made on the skin side, or larger fish are cut through to the skin from the flesh side so the salt will penetrate. The fish is covered with the salt, the excess shaken off, and the fish laid in a tub for 20-24 hours depending on thickness. No brine is added since the salted fish produces its own. After brining, the fish are washed off and soaked (freshened) in fresh water for 1 to 1½ hours, then well drained, preferably by hanging them until they stop dripping. The sides of fish are hung by the collar on stainless steel



Rosemaling on storefronts along the main street of Petersburg

hooks in the smokehouse, leaving plenty of room inbetween so that the smoke can circulate freely.

The best time of year to smoke this way in Petersburg is in winter, when it is cold (around freezing) and the heat can be controlled. During other seasons it is too damp and difficult to control the temperature in the smokehouse. Kings and fat, ocean-run steelhead are cold smoked for ten to fourteen days; smaller salmon, such as reds, silvers and humpies, are smoked for six to seven days.

Another method of making lox, called *grave laks* in Norwegian, is by curing instead of smoking the fish. The sides of fish (2 lbs.) are covered with a mixture of salt (5 tablespoons), sugar (6 tablespoons) and course-ground white pepper (about 20 corns). The sides are put together, flesh to flesh, with lots of dill inbetween, and pressed for three days. After letting it sit untouched for 12 hours, the fish is turned periodically. When the process is completed, the fish is wiped off, not washed, and kept refrigerated.

Some people in Petersburg are fond of making *lutefisk*. A dish usually made in the fall and traditionally served for Christmas dinner in Norwegian homes, it can nevertheless be frozen and cooked anytime throughout the year. *Lutefisk* is grey cod that is soaked in a lye solution. The fresh-caught cod (40 lbs.) is cleaned, split and soaked for three days in a solution of 6 tablespoons of lye in 6 gallons of water. When it is glassy and translucent, it is ready to be soaked in fresh water for four days, the water being changed daily. Then it is ready for cooking (boiling) or freezing (if it is to be stored).

A favorite of some Petersburg fishermen is pickled herring. Like the other fish, the herring are best cleaned and bled just after they are caught to ensure clean, white, firm meat. Using a "gibber," the fisherman gibbs the herring, that is, pulls the gills and stomach out with a kind of pliers. The herring are placed in dry salt for eight to ten days, after which they are washed off and immersed in a salt solution for keeping until use. They are packed in layers like sardines (head to tail), with each layer cross-wise to the next.

To ready for pickling, a batch (12-15) of herring is freshened, cut up, and soaked again to taste until it is no longer salty. The herring are fileted (sliced into two sides) like larger fish. To remove the backbone, the belly bones are cut away as are any remainders of the dorsal fin. The skin is then peeled off and the meat cut into chunks for eating. The chunks are placed in a mixture of sugar (1½ cups), boiling water (1 cup), vinegar (1 quart), and a handful of pickling spices. Herring is kept for two to three days before eating and served with warm, boiled potatoes or as a snack with crackers.

Another delicious snack is dried halibut or cod called *rekkling*. As one fisherman noted, "It is good to chew when you're on watch through the night." The best time to make *rekkling* is while fishing off-shore, away from flies, in sunny weather. Fresh halibut is sliced into thin strips, washed thoroughly in fresh sea water, and hung in the rigging to dry. It keeps as long as it stays dry, although it can be frozen and served in that condition.

Other Norwegian foods given an Alaskan signature in Petersburg are Norwegian fish cakes, fish balls, and fish pudding made in many different shapes and sizes with the variety of fish available in Petersburg.



House built on pilings.

Suggested reading

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Grandmotherly Knowledge, Grandfatherly Knowledge: Alaska's Traditional Native Arts by Suzi Jones

Suzi Jones has a Ph.D. in English literature and folklore from the University of Oregon and has served as Director of Traditional Native Arts for the Alaska State Council on the Arts since 1980. Formerly she was Folk Arts Coordinator for the state of Oregon. Jones has organized exhibits, festivals and publications on traditional and folk arts, the most recent of which is a traveling exhibit and catalog, Eskimo Dolls, now touring the United States.

"Native art is important. If there was no more Native art and potlatches and dances, life would not be good."

Julius Isaac
Tanacross, Alaska, 1981

Among Native people of Alaska, the old ways, the indigenous arts, reflect tens of thousands of years of experience in a place. They are what poet Gary Snyder has called "grandmotherly knowledge, grandfatherly knowledge." Inseparable from Native values — especially a sense of the relatedness of all things — closely tied to the use of local materials, and dependent upon the seasonal rounds of subsistence activities, Alaska's traditional Native arts are tremendously varied and rich with meaning.

When looking at Alaska Native art, one must take into account the cultural geography of a state which is five times the size of Ohio and covers four time zones from east to west. Alaska is home to three separate ethnic and linguistic groups: Indians, Aleuts and Eskimos. The Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian Indians live on the islands and mainland of south-



Basket with ivory knob, made by Andrew Oonga of Barrow, Alaska, in the collection of the Alaska Contemporary Art Bank. Photo by Chris Arend, courtesy of the Alaska State Council on the Arts.



Belle Deacon, an Athabaskan woman from Grayling, Alaska, is well known for her birch bark baskets. In 1983 she was commissioned by the State Arts Council to make baskets for the Governor's Awards for the Arts. Photo by Sam Kimura, courtesy of the Alaska State Council on the Arts.

east Alaska. The Athabaskan Indians, speaking some eleven different languages, live in the Interior. Eskimos reside in the coastal areas, with the Inupiaq along the northwest coast, the Central Yupik along the southwest, speakers of St. Lawrence Island Yupik on the small island two hundred miles off the coast of Nome, and the Koniag, Chugach and Eyak along the gulf coast. The Aleuts are on the western-most chain of islands which extends for hundreds of miles out into the Bering Sea. The arts of each of these peoples are distinct.

All of Alaska's indigenous peoples have been hunter-gatherers, and this is reflected in their art, both of the past and present. Dolls are often dressed in hunter's clothing; sea mammal motifs — whales, walrus and seals — as well as various kinds of ducks and sea birds, predominate in Eskimo ivory carvings and in Eskimo masks; flower and animal designs are skillfully worked into Athabaskan and Tlingit beadwork.

A sense of place, often explicit in design and subject matter, is also evident in the materials and techniques used by the artists. In most cases, artists do not purchase their supplies from the local store or from a craft supply house. Eskimo wood carvings are made from driftwood gathered from beaches and riverbanks in spring and summer. Ivory is from the tusks of walrus hunted by Eskimo men in Norton Sound and further north, while old whale bone is scavenged from beaches and turned into sculptures and masks and reindeer horn is shaped into dolls and other carvings. Some Inupiaq make baskets of baleen, the cartilage-like fringes that come from the mouth of the bowhead whale. Yupik and Aleut baskets are coiled or twined from a type of rye grass, gathered each fall along the beaches and cured during the winter. These baskets may be decorated

Annie Alowa, a skin sewer and dollmaker from the village of Savoonga on St. Lawrence Island, with two of her grandchildren, all wearing parkas, hats and *mukluks* made by her
 Photo by Rob Stapleton, courtesy of the Alaska State Council on the Arts



with small pieces of seal intestine which has been dried and dyed bright colors. In southeast Alaska, Indian masks, bentwood boxes and totem poles are carved of cedar, while bowls are made from local alder. Hats and baskets are woven of cedar bark or twined from spruce roots. Snowshoes are made of spruce and laced with caribou *babiche* (rawhide).

A wide variety of skins are converted into clothing by Native Alaskans. Native-tanned moosehide is the most prized backing material for Athabaskan beadwork. *Mukluks* (boots), according to the season of use and the style, may be made of reindeer, caribou, or seal, perhaps decorated with beaver or calfskin and probably soled with durable *oogruk* (bearded seal) hide. Wolverine, fox and wolf skins are commonly used for parka ruffs. "Fancy parkas" are usually made from Arctic ground squirrel skins, while everyday calico parkas are lined with rabbit.

While traditional materials, processes, and designs are strikingly evident in much of the material culture of Alaska's Native people, change is also evident. Power tools and sewing machines shorten and ease tasks. New materials replace old, sometimes by choice, sometimes by economic necessity (beadwork is now often done on felt because a single tanned moosehide may cost four or five hundred dollars), and sometimes because new and complex regulations make access to some materials, such as birchbark, difficult. In addition, side by side with the traditional artists, a generation of contemporary artists are creating new idioms for Alaskan Native art, catching the attention of the international art world.

Among Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts, the skills of the artist have been those acquired as one grew to maturity — a man learning carving, a woman sewing. And all were considered artists, for art has not been seen as a separate category of life or as an inventory of certain objects, but rather as a part of life. It expresses the relatedness of everything in the natural world, the social world and the spiritual world.

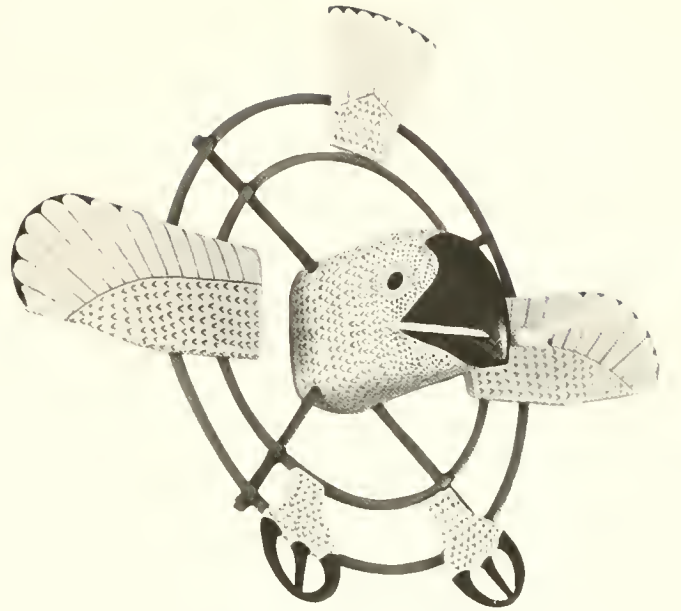
Ideas about art were the subject of a recent conversation with Esther Littlefield, a Tlingit woman from Sitka, Alaska, well known for her sewing, beadwork and knowledge of Tlingit history and culture. Mrs. Littlefield's words convey well the sense of art as attitude, as knowledge, and as a way of holding people together:

An artist is something some people never understand.
 It's an inner feeling of how you feel about things.
 It's beauty that you see.
 Not everybody sees beauty in everything.



Esther Littlefield, a Tlingit Indian from Sitka, Alaska, with a ceremonial hat she wove of cedar bark
 Photo by Suzi Jones, courtesy of the Alaska State Council on the Arts

Sure it's true,
 there's beauty in everything in daily life,
 in the leaves and living close to nature.
 People can just look out and see beauty even if it's raining.
 That's what we were taught.
 And then, a long time ago Mama saw beauty in the leaves;
 from season to season
 she'd sit somewhere and sew or weave —
 even weaving a basket or doing something,
 she'd look around her surroundings and see all the
 beautiful things
 So she creates that. . . .
 Art should be respected.
 And it should be handled with care.
 . . . people come and want to buy this;
 they want to buy this;
 and they want information.
 They want to pay me.
 No. It's not worth all the money in the world.
 I don't want their money
 because this is my dignity.
 . . . it represents my family.
 Today my name is Littlefield
 but in the olden time
 when people get together. . .
 certain occasions
 they wear the costumes, and when they do wear them,
 they're identifying themselves. . . .
 If I'm wearing a Raven or a Frog
 — that's our emblem also, a Frog —
 and I see somebody else
 maybe from way down —
 Hydaburg, Ketchikan, or someplace around there —
 that I haven't met,
 I'll walk up to them and introduce myself
 and that I am Kiksadi.
 And what clan are you?
 The same emblem I have.
 Then before long we're related.
 Living here in southeast Alaska,
 people are related,
 through our clan
 through intermarriage,
 clear down the coast and up further north,
 we are related.
 So
 by the time we're through,
 we're related.
 And what a joy it is
 to have people know each other.



Hawk mask of painted and stained wood made
 by Nick Charles, Sr., of Bethel, Alaska.
 Photo by Suzi Jones, courtesy of the Alaska State
 Council on the Arts

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Yupik Dancing

by Ann Fienup-Riordan

Ann Fienup-Riordan has researched the social organization, exchange systems, and ideology of the Yupik Eskimo of western Alaska. She has taught cultural anthropology at the Alaska Pacific University and the University of Alaska, Anchorage.

Two men came down to the water and entered the open water in their kayaks with only a drum and a spear. They approached the village at night, waiting until the morning to come close. Then they raised their paddles to make their presence visible. They approached slowly, saying, "We fight, some are afraid of death, but still we fight. But spears are meant for killing animals." And they began to beat the drum, and the women came down to the river dancing. Then they said, "We want to come into the *qasgiq* [communal men's house]." And they did, and took council there. And now they only fight with dancing. And the men who came went home to their old village and said, "No more war." (from *The Origin of Dancing* by Cyril Chanar)

Half a hundred tiny villages, each populated by between 100 and 500 Yupik Eskimo, lie spread along the coast of western Alaska between the mouths of the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers. First appearances convey isolation and austerity, with man pitted against a cold and inhospitable environment. However, the Yupik area is actually the home of a people committed to harvesting a tremendous natural bounty, including sea and land mammals, birds, and a variety of fish. Thanks to relatively late contact with outsiders and infrequent economic intrusions, it remains one of the most culturally vital areas in Alaska, where English is still the second language of the majority of the residents and Yupik Eskimo the first. As the traditional subsistence activities and language continue to flourish, so do many of the traditional cultural activities, including the lively and rich display we know as Yupik dance.

As in the story above, Yupik dancing is said to have begun where warfare left off. Conversely, one of the more covert battles that western society first waged against the Yupik was the suppression of their dance tradition. During the late 1800s in the delta region, Moravian and Catholic missionaries alike viewed with grave misgiving the *agayuluteng* (masked dances) along with other embodiments of traditional Yupik cosmology. Overwhelmed by the pagan implications of these traditional representations and the ceremonial cycle in which they were a part, the missionaries did their best to discourage their performance. Informal "recreational" dancing survived in the areas missionized by the Catholics, but along the coast south of Nelson Island and along the Kuskokwim River, where Moravian influence prevailed, dance performances were completely suppressed.

Today, in the Catholic communities of the region, dancing in a religious context no longer exists. However, the contemporary Yupik have retained several annual formal dance distributions. The winter season, with all its ceremonial activities, is still referred to as *cattyayq* (drum), an essential and central element in the dance. Along with these major annual events, informal dancing occurs throughout the year. Although more common on stormy winter evenings than during light summer nights when the fish are running, informal dancing is a vital part of village life whenever time permits or an occasion presents itself.

Between one and two dozen participants, including the drummers, are



Alaska Native Drummers at Mountain Village Dance Festival in February, 1981
Photo by Jim Barker



Chevak dancers (l to r) Teresa Tommy, Mary Nash, David Boy Scout, Natalia Nayamin and Agnes Boy Scout perform during the festival in the village of St. Mary's in the fall of 1982.

enough to start off the evening, although the group often grows to ten times its original size as the evening progresses. The older men and women of the community are the chief dancers, along with a group of promising youngsters who have been given some of the simpler dances by their grandparents. Early in the evening, as the group begins to assemble in the community hall, several of the middle-aged men take the drums from the closet where they are kept and begin to play softly, waiting.

The drums are made of a rim of bent wood, approximately two feet in diameter, over which a single piece of plastic (formerly walrus stomach) is tightly stretched. The only instruments to accompany the dancing, they are struck with a thin willow wand. Two to six drums are used, the drummers rotating during the evening as their voices weary and arms grow tired.

Each dance has its own song, which the drummers, accompanied by up to a dozen singers, perform to the beat of the music. Each song consists of two parts: a verse sung in duple time to the increasingly rapid drum beat, and a chorus which is accompanied by an irregular drum beat. Both chorus and verse elicit highly stylized dance gestures, but whereas the verse gestures tend to be more abstract and are danced according to a formal pattern, those of the chorus are often realistic imitations of animal and human behavior, and follow no set pattern. Each verse is danced through twice between choruses. The sequence is repeated again and again, becoming faster, louder and more exaggerated with each repetition, until by the end of the dance the precise syncopation between the drum beats and the movements of the dancers makes it seem as though the dancers themselves were making the sound.

A dance begins as one old man or woman softly sings the verse, which contains both vocables (lexically meaningless syllables) and words descriptive of the action or events the dance will depict. As the singer finishes, the audience begins to generate the dancers, pushing and calling them forth. The heads of the older matrons turn around, searching for the appropriate dancers — those who in years past have been given particular dances as their prerogative by the older men and women who have written the songs. A man and his wife or two cousins come from different parts of the seated mass and join together in public, as the drummers tighten their drum heads and prepare to begin. From two to a dozen individuals perform in each dance. The women dancers stand in a line towards the back facing the audience and the drummers, while the male dancers kneel in front of them, also facing the drummers.

Both the men and the women hold fans while they dance; if no fans are available, they wear gloves, some say out of respect for what they perform.



Paul Agumiak, Frances Usugan and Martina John (in back) perform a comic dance chorus during the 1982 St. Mary's Yupik Dance Festival



Francine Chiklak of Mountain Village in typical Yupik dance headdress at the 1984 festival.



Charlie Steve of Stebbins entertains the crowd with a comic dance chorus at the 1982 St. Mary's Dance Festival

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Nick Charles *Worker in Wood* Fairbanks Rasmuson Library, 1983

The men use circular wooden fans decorated with five or six large feathers (mallard or white owl) extending around the rim. In the Nelson Island area, women's fans are made of grass coils along the edges of which are sewn the long and graceful neck hairs of the reindeer. On the Yukon delta, women hold small wooden finger masks by means of two holes carved at their bases. The small masks are bordered with a combination of short full feathers and long thin ones, topped with tufts of down. Both the flowing hairs and the stiff feathers serve to accentuate the arm and hand movements of the dancers, rendering the women's movements more fluid and the men's more staccato.

On special occasions, women may also wear broad strings of beads around their necks, as well as beaded crowns topped with wolverine and caribou hair. The beaded fringe of these headdresses often covers the eyes of the performers, studiously cast down as another stylized mark of respect. Both the encircling crowns and the rounded, perforated dance fans, fringed with both fur and feathers, are reminiscent of the mask worn traditionally by the central dancer. The open-work design of the fans held by the men is explicitly compared to the pierced hand found as an appendage to many traditional dance masks. The hole in the hand's center, like the opening in the dance fan, is a symbolic passage through which the spirits of fish and game came to view their treatment by men; if they found it acceptable, it was believed they would repopulate the world. Although the traditional masked dances have been abandoned, the dancers, with fans and arms extended in the motions of the dance like gigantic transformation masks, call forth many of the traditional meanings, including the continued interrelation between the human and nonhuman environment.

When the singer has completed the verse once and the dancers have assembled, the drummers and chorus begin to play and sing. They are led by an older man or woman, the official dance director, who encourages and teases the dancers during each verse by calling out directions during the chorus: pantomime, such as "Raise the gun!" and "Shoot!" The director's motions may be accompanied by the steady back and forth movement of a dance wand, a three foot long piece of decorated driftwood. From a quiet beginning, the scene grows more and more raucous, with the audience shouting back and forth, pulling people off and on to the dance floor, and calling for the dancers to begin again, as the performers play up to an audience that continues to egg them on.

During the dances, women stand, feet flat, body swaying with an up and down motion, and knees bending to the beat, while the men kneel directly in front of them. The dance songs themselves are about everything from winning at cards or war, to an escape from a ghost. Since all songs deal with daily experiences, a catalogue of the changes that have come to the area in the last 20 years can be read from Yupik dance songs: songs about basketball, guitar playing, playing on swings in the school ground, or going to Anchorage.

Yupik dancing is as vital today as ever in the delta region. Men and women continue to dance to the steady rhythm of the hooped drum, traditionally said to represent the beating heart of the spirits as well as the lively movements of the spirits of men and game over the thin surface of the earth. Although many traditions have changed or vanished, the drum continues a steady and meaningful beat.

Alaska Native Oral Tradition

by Nora and Richard Dauenhauer

Of the twenty distinct Native American languages spoken in Alaska, we focus here on three as representative: Tlingit, Koyukon Athabaskan, and Yupik Eskimo.

Tlingit Oral Tradition

Tlingit society is characterized by ownership and reciprocity. Songs, stories, designs, personal names, and land are considered the real property of particular clans. The form and content of oral tradition are set in a context of reciprocity of “balance.” The two moieties (or divisions) of the Tlingit people, Eagle and Raven, balance each other. Their members address love songs and most oratory to each other, and in host-guest relationships at feasts share in each others’ joy and work to remove each others’ grief. A song or speech must be answered – not competitively, but only that it not “wander aimlessly.” Speeches and stories contain thematically balanced interaction of the physical and spiritual, the living and departed, humans and animals, people and land.

The major Tlingit oral genres are songs, oratory, and narrative. Narratives include instructive and humorous Raven stories, and clan crest or shaman spirit acquisition legends. Folktales – defined as deliberate fiction – are conspicuously absent in Tlingit oral tradition, as are some forms popular in the European tradition, such as ballad, narrative verse, and epics in metrical forms. Instead, Alaskan traditions are characterized by a variety of repetitions and share an aesthetic different from that of composed and published literature.

Oratory is highly valued in traditional and contemporary Tlingit society. A public speaker must understand genealogy, the Tlingit clan and kinship systems, heraldic designs on totems, regalia and tribal art, tribal histories, legends and other narratives, songs, and protocol. He must also know how to connect these poetically, using simile and metaphor to give comfort, encouragement and strength to people in time of grief, and to create bonds among individuals, families, clans, and communities and between the material and spiritual worlds. A few lines of Tlingit oratory exemplify this:

... These terns. Your fathers’ sisters would fly over the person who is feeling grief. Then they would let their down fall like snow over the person who is grieving. ... That’s when I feel as if your fathers’ sisters are flying back to their nests with your grief. ...

An example of Tlingit narrative is the Glacier Bay History, which opens with ownership – how the land was owned, named, and occupied by specific groups. Themes of balance are presented – people and the land, people and the animals, the physical and spiritual, the “eternal return.” Then, in the narrative, the balance is upset by a violation of tradition. It continues with death, destruction, and exile, and the ultimate restoration of social and spiritual balance through sacrifice. Thus the history docu-

Nora Dauenhauer, a Native speaker of Tlingit, was born in Juneau, Alaska. She has a BA in anthropology, and has been active in the last 15 years in collecting, transcribing, and translating Tlingit oral literature. She is also a published poet and short story writer.

Richard Dauenhauer has lived for 15 years in Alaska, where he has taught and worked in applied linguistics, folklore and anthropology, especially Tlingit language and oral literature. He has a PhD in comparative literature, has published numerous poems, articles and translations, and is the current poet laureate of Alaska.

The Dauenhauers work as a team on the staff of the Sealaska Heritage Foundation, Juneau, Alaska.

The Dauenhauers wish to acknowledge the assistance of Eliza Jones, Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska-Fairbanks, and Phyllis Morrow and Elsie Mather, Yupik Language Workshop at Kuskokwim Community College, Bethel, Alaska.

ments the link of a specific clan group to certain land, heraldry and literature through the spiritual efforts of an ancestor.

Athabaskan

Of the Athabaskan languages extending from Alaska and western Canada through California and Oregon, to the Apache and Navajo in the Southwest, eleven are spoken in interior Alaska.

Athabaskan narrative is composed of themes which can be told in highly distilled form or greatly elaborated on, depending upon the situation. One tradition bearer called this “cooking it up and boiling it down.” Sometimes the storyteller advances the narrative and the audience contributes the details. Thus the narrator serves as prompter and the audience plays an active role in telling the story or creating the event.

Riddles – long considered by folklorists not to exist in Native American oral literature – are in fact alive and well in most Alaskan Athabaskan tradition. A favorite is “We come upstream in red canoes [salmon].” Riddles provide training for oratory, which is also important in Athabaskan oral tradition. Through this device people learn to master simile and metaphor, which are later applied in speeches. In keeping with the highly competitive nature of Athabaskan oratory there is a verb “to sit someone down,” meaning to reach a level of metaphor so complex that others cannot respond.

A good example of Koyukon meta-poetics is “Gaadook,” a story about the socialization of a child who learns to communicate indirectly. In the beginning, he sleeps often and is otherwise very lackadaisical in doing his work. His mother gives directions indirectly and metaphorically – often in forms similar to riddles, especially when speaking about animals to be trapped. The child takes the instructions literally, with disastrous results. The story is complex and involves a transformation in which the child re-enters society as a fully awakened, useful and productive member, with skills in indirect communication.

Athabaskan songs may be highly personal and private. Some are considered esoteric and having power only for the owner and cannot therefore be performed by others. Much value is placed on songs; one riddle compares using an old song instead of composing an appropriate new one to using an old arrow. Many songs are Zen-like in their humor and artistic response to the absurdity of predicaments in which the composers find themselves. Much of the humor is self deprecating, and created by including English words in the songs.

Yupik

The Central Yupik speak one of the four Eskimo languages in Alaska. Yupik tradition bearers generally distinguish two categories of stories: *qulirat* and *qanemcit*. *Qulirat* concern the mythical past and are part of a long oral tradition which includes accounts of creation, origin legends, and stories about anthropomorphic animals. *Qanemcit* include anecdotes and historical accounts – for example, personal encounters with ghosts or other beings, accounts of famines or illness, and feats of great shamans or hunters whose names are generally known. Within these two categories are several genres, such as war stories told by men, or stock character stories told largely by women which might involve a grandmother-grandchild pair or an isolated household of husband and wife, sometimes with a child. In these stories people are identified by general kinship

terms. "Grandchild" in these cases is often synonymous with "orphan," and the story may relate how this person was mistreated and later avenged himself. Often these socially marginal characters are spiritually powerful and save or restore the community. The stock character stories generally contain implicit moral teachings, concern a person's instructions to do or not to do something, and describe the consequences which follow from disobeying the injunctions. Unlike the Athabaskan case, Yupik stories and songs were not and are not owned. Stories are frequently located by specific place names telling where events are said to have occurred.

Beyond stories are other oral genres, including songs and ritualized insults. A variety of songs are composed for specific dances or ceremonies; others are included in the stories and sung by people or animals. Additionally, there were power songs, not much discussed today but once used to make things happen: what was sung about came true. Insults were part of traditional exchange rituals. They were couched in clever metaphors or allusions, and the person insulting someone tried to make the barb as inciting as possible, while the person receiving tried to maintain his composure. Sometimes this led to physical fights, but at other times the insult was simply returned (outdone) by the recipient at a later date.

In Yupik oral literature generally, there is a strong emphasis on the idea that whatever a person does reverberates in the human, animal, and supernatural worlds. For example, if dead kinsmen are not fed and clothed through their living namesakes, they will come back to seek what they need. If animals are shown proper respect, they will allow themselves to be caught; if not, there will be scarcity. Proper respect includes making beautiful hunting gear, properly disposing of animal remains, and observing a variety of taboos. If human values are not upheld, disaster will result for whole villages. Expressed values include (among many others) caring for elders, generosity with food, and maintaining a good natured approach toward others.

The Native people of Alaska refer to themselves as "the people." "Yupik" means "real person" and "Tlingit" means "human." The oral traditions of all Native people of Alaska teach the individual how to be human — to know who he or she is and how one fits into society and the cosmos. Even mundane daily chores such as handling garbage have cosmic significance. The categories of sacred and profane are perceived in a very different way than in the secular mainstream American world view.

Stories and songs allude to each other; both record history, and are often reflected in visual arts, such as Chilkat robes, masks, carved dance headdresses and helmets. Alaskan oral traditions are laconic and highly contextualized. A Native American tradition bearer once told a famous anthropologist, "our songs are so short because we know so much." Mainstream Americans can learn much from Native American traditions on how to live in harmony with each other, with nature, and with the cosmos.

Suggested reading

Publications of the Alaska Native Language Center, 3rd Floor, Chapman Bldg., University of Alaska-Fairbanks, Fairbanks, Alaska 99701

"Because We Cherish You": Sealaska Elders Speak to The Future. Transcribed, translated, and edited by Nora and Richard Dauenhauer. Juneau: Sealaska Heritage Foundation, 1981.

Yupik Lore: Oral Traditions of An Eskimo People. Bethel: Lower Kuskokwim School District, 1981

Scollon, Ron and Suzanne. *Linguistic Convergence: An Ethnography of Speaking at Fort Chipewyan, Alberta.* New York: Academic Press, 1979.

_____. *_____ Narrative, Literacy and Face in Interethnic Communication* Norwood, N.J. Ablex, 1981.

Suggested films

Haa Shagoon. 30 min. color sound. University of California Extension Media Center, 2223 Fulton St., Berkeley, CA 94720.

Summer of the Loucheaux: Portrait of a Northern Indian Family. 28 min. color sound. Tanurack Films, 11032 76 St., Edmonton, Alberta, Canada T5B 2C6.

Various films on Alaska Native village life:

Tumneremut (The People of Tununak), From the First People, On Spring Ice, At the Time of Whaling, Atka: An Aleut Village. Leonard Kamerling and Sarah Elder, Alaska Native Heritage Film Project, Rm. 210 Chapman Bldg., University of Alaska Fairbanks, Fairbanks, Alaska 99701.

Folk Arts and the Elderly

by Bess Lomax Hawes

Bess Lomax Hawes is the Director of the Folk Arts Program of the National Endowment for the Arts. She has taught folklore at the California State University at Northridge and has been a Deputy Director of the Festival of American Folklife.

The Grand Generation: Folklore and Aging has been made possible through the generous support of the American Association of Retired Persons in celebration of 25 years of service to older Americans, the Atlantic Richfield Foundation, the National Institute on Aging, National Institutes of Health, and the Music Performance Trust Funds.

The Folk Arts Program at the National Endowment for the Arts has distributed its second annual National Heritage Fellowships. So far, thirty-one individuals have been singled out for national recognition as “exemplary master folk artists and artisans,” and honored for their “authenticity, excellence and significance within a particular artistic tradition,” and for their “ongoing artistic accomplishment.” The art forms of these master folk artists have ranged from duck decoy carving to quilting, from ballad singing to bagpipe playing, from storytelling to Afro-Puerto Rican *bomba* dancing. The artists have come from all sections of the nation as well as Puerto Rico; they speak in Yankee English, Louisiana French Cajun *patois* and Texas Mexican Spanish; they are black, brown, red, and white; they hail from big cities and from country farms; some are women, some are men. All of them, however, were over fifty when they received their awards, a fact made the more remarkable when one realizes that their ages were not generally cited in the letters of nomination. But “ageable” they all were — five in their fifties, eight in their sixties, eight in their seventies, seven in their eighties, and a triumphant three, ninety years old or over.

How does it happen that in the Heritage Fellowships there has been such a concentration on older artists? It was not planned but there does seem to be an especially close relationship between the folk arts and the elderly. The reasons are many, having to do both with the nature of folk arts and the nature of the general human life cycle.

As we note in the Folk Arts Program guidelines, “the folk and traditional arts have grown through time within the many groups that make up any nation — groups that share the same ethnic heritage, language, occupation, religion, or geographic area.” They are the “homegrown, traditional artistic activities of such groups . . . and they serve both to identify and to symbolize the group that originated them.” A list of examples might include Samoan storytelling, Ozark balladry, Irish step dancing, and South-east Asian embroidery. Almost always, these art forms have been learned informally, by casual or not-so-casual observation, or by being “shown,” often a relatively brief experience. On the whole, one does not go to Juilliard to learn how to play a hammer dulcimer, nor are there courses available, even in our technical schools, in how to build an Eskimo skin boat. Nor do informally learned art forms necessarily lead to an exceptional rather than mediocre practice, for only those practitioners who have mastered their arts through years of refinement are viewed as true “artists” by their communities.

American society does not ordinarily place much stock in informal learning. The notion that an artistic activity or style might be absorbed simply by a process of hanging about and observing sits uneasily with our feeling that the really important things ought to be conveyed in a formalized manner. Just a bit of reflection impresses upon one the universality of those early childhood experiences when one drifted off to sleep to the strains of grandfather’s fiddle practicing waltzes, or the family’s favorite

Wednesday, June 27

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information

Musical performances at the Festival have been partially funded by a grant from the Music Performance Trust Funds

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 at the Black Urban Expressive Culture area

Volunteer interpreters will be available upon request at the Volunteers Tent

Alaska Program

The Grand Generation: Folklore and Aging

Black Urban Expressive Culture from Philadelphia

	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Presentations	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Presentations	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	
11:00	Opening Ceremonies			Occupations: Bush pilots – skills and lore of Alaskan pilots, meet pilots and see their equipment, log books, scrapbooks and other memorabilia				Crafts: demonstrations all day – split-oak basketmaking, southern pottery, toymaking, stone-carving, embroidery, quilting, net making, crab pot making, hide tanning and beadworking				11:00
12:00	Yupik Eskimo Dance: Bethel Native Dancers	Alaska Native Traditions	Fishing Boat Cookery: Chowders	Miners – occupational folklife of placer goldmining, sluice box demonstrations, panning for gold, maps, photos and miners' memorabilia	African-American Spirituals: Reverend Daniel Womack	From Generation to Generation: Appalachian Music	Fruit Leathers	Learning Center: The Grand Generation exhibition and oral history project – Smithsonian folklorists interview Festival visitors about their memories, stories and traditions.	Spoons and Washboard Slim		Biscuits	12:00
1:00	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Tlingit Stories and Legends: Austin Hammond	Sourdough Cookery: Pancakes	Loggers – loggers demonstrate power bucking, obstacle pole bucking, choker setting, ax throwing and the use of a yarder, tree cutting at 12 noon daily	Appalachian Ballads: Nimrod Workman	Grandfatherly Knowledge: Old Hispanic Tales	Chicken Pies		Collegiate Stepping		Sweet Potato Pie	1:00
2:00	Southwest Indian Dance	Eskimo Stories and String Games		Fishermen – discussions with Alaskan fishermen and women and demonstrations of the manufacture, use and maintenance of their gear	Hawaiian Hula Dancing	Traditional Stone Carvers			Do-wop Singing: New Emage	Street Poetry	Greens	2:00
3:00	Eskimo Games	Alaskan Occupations	Fishing Boat Cookery: Work Food	Crafts: a variety of Native Alaskan crafts including Inupiaq Eskimo carvers, Athabaskan beadworkers, Yupik Eskimo fancy parka makers, Southeast Alaskan Indian Chilkat weavers and Aleut basketmakers	Blues: John and James Jackson	Oral History: Sleeping Car Porters	Norwegian Cookies		Street Drills: Candies	Rappers and Turntable Wizards	Biscuits	3:00
4:00	Yupik Eskimo Dancers	Tlingit Stories and Legends: Austin Hammond	Sourdough Cookery: Breads		Laotian Music, Song and Dance	Ballads from the Appalachian Coalfields	Chicken Pies		Traditional Comedy	Black Stepping Traditions	Sweet Potato Casserole	4:00
5:00	Athabaskan Song	Tlingit Stories and Legends: Walter Babe Williams	Salmon Preservation		Old-Time Music: Wade and Julia Mainer	Native American Traditions	Norwegian Cookies		Tap Dance: Philadelphia Tap Dancers	Popping and Break Dancing	Greens	5:00
	St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo Dance	Alaskan Occupations			The Grandparents' Hour				Gospel Singing	Black Vaudeville, Minstrelsy, and Med Shows	Biscuits	
	Yupik Eskimo Games				"Calling the Cotton Press": Work Songs and Stories				Collegiate Stepping	Dance Traditions	Greens	
	Southwest Indian Dance: Gajaa Heen Dancers	Yupik Eskimo Stories and Dance: Nunamata Dancers							Spoons and Washboard Slim	Sacred Singing and Street Corner Sounds	Biscuits	
									DJ, Rapping and Break Dancing: Grand Masters of Funk and Scanner Boys		Sweet Potato Pie	

The Alaska program has been made possible by the state of Alaska Department of Commerce and Economic Development through its Division of Tourism and the Alaska Seafood Marketing Institute. Additional funding has been made available through private and corporate donations.

The Grand Generation: Folklore and Aging has been made possible through the generous support of the American Association of Retired Persons in celebration of 25 years of service to older Americans, the Atlantic Richfield Foundation, and the National Institute on Aging, National Institutes of Health.

Thursday, June 28

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information

Musical performances at the Festival have been partially funded by a grant from the Music Performance Trust Funds.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 at the Alaska area

Volunteer interpreters will be available upon request at the Volunteers Tent

Alaska Program

The Grand Generation: Folklore and Aging

Black Urban Expressive Culture from Philadelphia

	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Presentations
11:00	St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo Dance	Yupik Eskimo Stories and Dance	Salmon Preservation	Occupations: Bush pilots – skills and lore of Alaskan pilots, meet pilots and see their equipment, log books, scrapbooks and other memorabilia
12:00	Athabaskan Song	Alaska Native Traditions	Fishing Boat Cookery: Chowders	
1:00	Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Sourdough Cookery: Pancakes	Miners – occupational folklife of placer goldmining; sluice box demonstrations, panning for gold, maps, photos and miners' memorabilia
	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Eskimo Stories and String Games		Loggers – loggers demonstrate power bucking, obstacle pole hucking, choker setting, ax throwing and the use of a yarder, tree cutting at 12 noon daily
2:00	Southwest Indian Dance			Fishermen – discussions with Alaskan fishermen and women and demonstrations of the manufacture, use and maintenance of their gear
3:00	Eskimo Games	Alaskan Occupations	Fishing Boat Cookery: Work Food	Crafts: a variety of Native Alaskan crafts including Inupiaq Eskimo carvers, Athabaskan beadworkers, Yupik Eskimo fancy parka makers, southeast Alaskan Indian Chilkat weavers and Aleut basketmakers
	Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Sourdough Cookery: Breads	
4:00	Athabaskan Song	Tlingit Stories and Legends		
	St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Salmon Preservation	
5:00	Eskimo Games	Alaskan Occupations		
	Southeast Indian Dance	Yupik Eskimo Stories and Dance		
	Gajai Heen Dancers	Nunamata Dancers		

	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Presentations
	Old-Time Music: Wade and Julia Manier	African-American Storytelling	Fruit Leathers	Crafts, demonstrations all day – split-oak basketmaking, southern pottery, toymaking, stone-carving, embroidery, quilting, net making, crab pot making, hide tanning and beadworking
	Appalachian Ballads: Nimrod Workman	Hawaiian Hula Dancing	Chicken Pies	
	Blues John and James Jackson	Community Elders: A Cross-cultural View		Learning Center: The Grand Generation exhibition and oral history project – Smithsonian folklorists interview festival visitors about their memories, stories and traditions
		Children's Games and Songs from the Sea Islands	Norwegian Cookies	
	Laotian Music, Song and Dance			
		Traditional Foodways	Chicken Pies	
	Appalachian Music: Tommy Jarrell and Friends	A Sense of Place: Chesapeake Bay Storytelling		
		Honoring the Elders: Native American Traditions	Norwegian Cookies	
	Hawaiian Hula Dancing	Grand-fatherly Knowledge: Hispanic Tales		
	African-American Spirituals and Shouts: The Moving Star Hall Singers	"Calling the Cotton Press": Work Songs and Stories	Grape Leaves	

	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways
11:00	Revue		Greens
12:00			Biscuits
1:00	Do-wop Singing	Verbal Artistry	Sweet Potato Pie
	Street Drills: Candies	Migration from South to North	Greens
2:00	Traditional Comedy	Popping and Break Dancing	Biscuits
	Tap Dance	Rappers and Turntable Wizards	Sweet Potato Casserole
3:00	Gospel Singing	Black Vaudeville, Minstrelsy, and Med Shows	Greens
	Collegiate Stepping	Dance Traditions	Biscuits
4:00	Spoons and Washboard Slim		Sweet Potato Pie
	DJ, Rapping and Break Dancing: Grand Masters of Funk and Scanner Boys	Sacred Singing and Street Corner Sounds	
5:00			

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Friday, June 29

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information

Musical performances at the Festival have been partially funded by a grant from the Music Performance Trust Funds.

Evening Concert at 7:30 p.m. at the Sylvan Theatre

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 at The Grand Generation area

Volunteer interpreters will be available upon request at the Volunteers Tent

Alaska Program

The Grand Generation: Folklore and Aging

Black Urban Expressive Culture from Philadelphia

	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Presentations	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Presentations	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	
11:00	St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo Dance	Yupik Eskimo Stories and Dance	Salmon Preservation	Occupations: Bush pilots – skills and lore of Alaskan pilots, meet pilots and see their equipment, log books, scrapbooks and other memorabilia	Old-Time Music: Wade and Julia Mainer	Ballads from the Appalachian Coalfields	Fruit Leathers	Crafts: demonstrations all day – split-oak basketmaking, southern pottery, toymaking, stone-carving, embroidery, quilting, net making, crab pot making, hide tanning and beadworking			Greens	11:00
12:00	Athabaskan Song	Alaska Native Traditions	Fishing Boat Cookery: Chowders	Miners – occupational folklore of placer goldmining, sluice box demonstrations, panning for gold, maps, photos and miners' memorabilia	African-American Spirituals	A Sense of Place: Chesapeake Bay Watermen	Chicken Pies		Learning Center: The Grand Generation exhibition and oral history project – Smithsonian folklorists interview Festival visitors about their memories, stories and traditions	Revue		Biscuits
	Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Sourdough Cookery: Pancakes		Loggers – loggers demonstrate power bucking, obstacle pole bucking, choker setting, ax throwing and the use of a yarder, tree cutting at 12 noon daily	Hawaiian Hula Dancing	Appalachian Music	Norwegian Cookies		Do-wop Singing	Street Poetry	
1:00	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Eskimo Stories and String Games			African-American Spirituals and Shouts	From Master to Apprentice: Traditional Crafts		Oral History: Sleeping Car Porters	Street Drills: Candies	Rappers and Turntable Wizards	Greens	
2:00	Southwest Indian Dance		Fishing Boat Cookery: Work Food	Fishermen – discussions with Alaskan fishermen and women and demonstrations of the manufacture, use and maintenance of their gear	The Moving Star Hall Singers		Chicken Pies		Traditional Comedy	Black Stepping Traditions	Biscuits	
3:00	Eskimo Games	Alaskan Occupations			Laotian Music, Song and Dance	Grandfatherly Knowledge: Hispanic Tales	Norwegian Cookies	Honoring the Elders: Native American Traditions	Tap Dance	Popping and Break Dancing	Sweet Potato Casserole	
	Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Sourdough Cookery Breads	Crafts: a variety of Native Alaskan crafts including Inupiaq Eskimo carvers, Athabaskan beadworkers, Yupik Eskimo fancy parka makers, Southeast Alaskan Indian Chilkat weavers and Aleut basketmakers	Appalachian Music: Tommy Jarrell and Friends				Gospel Singing	Black Vaudeville, Minstrelsy, and Med Shows	Greens	
4:00	Athabaskan Song		Salmon Preservation		Blues: John and James Jackson	African-American Elders. Stories of Wit and Wisdom	Grape Leaves	Older Folk Artists	Collegiate Stepping	Dance Traditions		
	St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tlingit Stories and Legends							Spoons and Washboard Slim	Sacred Singing and Street Corner Sounds	Biscuits	
5:00	Eskimo Games	Alaskan Occupations						DJ, Rapping and Break Dancing: Grand Masters of Funk and Scanner Boys		Sweet Potato Pie		5:00
	Southeast Indian Dance	Yupik Eskimo Dance										

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Saturday, June 30

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information

Musical performances at the Festival have been partially funded by a grant from the Music Performance Trust Funds.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 at the Black Urban Expressive Culture area

Volunteer interpreters will be available upon request at the Volunteers Tent

Alaska Program

The Grand Generation: Folklore and Aging

Black Urban Expressive Culture from Philadelphia

	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Presentations	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Presentations	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	
11:00	St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo Dance	Yupik Eskimo Stories and Dance	Salmon Preservation	Occupations: Bush pilots – skills and lore of Alaskan pilots; meet pilots and see their equipment, log books, scrapbooks and other memorabilia	Appalachian Ballads: Nimrod Workman	Wit and Wisdom from the Sea Islands	Fruit Leathers	Crafts: demonstrations all day – split-oak basketmaking, southern pottery, toymaking, stone-carving, embroidery, quilting, net making, crab pot making, hide tanning and beadworking			Greens	11:00
12:00	Athabaskan Song	Alaska Native Traditions	Fishing Boat Cookery: Chowders	Miners – occupational folklife of placer goldmining, sluice box demonstrations, panning for gold, maps, photos and miners' memorabilia	African-American Spirituals	Grandfatherly Knowledge: Hispanic Tales	Chicken Pies	Learning Center: The Grand Generation exhibition and oral history project – Smithsonian folklorists interview Festival visitors about their memories, stories and traditions	Revue		Biscuits	12:00
1:00	Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tingit Stories and Legends	Sourdough Cookery: Pancakes	Loggers – loggers demonstrate power bucking, obstacle pole bucking, choker setting, ax throwing and the use of a yarder, tree cutting at 12 noon daily	Appalachian Music: Tommy Jarrell and Friends	Hawaiian Hula Dancing	Norwegian Cookies	From Master to Apprentice: Traditional Stone Carvers	Do-wop Singing	Verbal Artistry	Sweet Potato Pie	1:00
2:00	Tingit Stories and Legends	Eskimo Stories and String Games		Fishermen – discussions with Alaskan fishermen and women and demonstrations of the manufacture, use and maintenance of their gear	Laotian Music, Song and Dance	A Sense of Place: Chesapeake Bay Watermen	Chicken Pies	Honoring the Elders: Native American Traditions	Street Drills: Candies	Migration from South to North	Greens	2:00
3:00	Esquimo Games	Alaskan Occupations	Fishing Boat Cookery: Work Food	Crafts: a variety of Native Alaskan crafts including Inupiaq Eskimo carvers, Athabaskan beadworkers, Yupik Eskimo fancy parka makers, southeast Alaskan Indian Chilkat weavers and Aleut basketmakers	Blues: John and James Jackson	From Generation to Generation: Old-Time Music	Norwegian Cookies	The Grandparents' Hour: Tales That Teach Children	Traditional Comedy	Popping and Break Dancing	Biscuits	3:00
4:00	Athabaskan Song	Tingit Stories and Legends	Sourdough Cookery: Breads		Hawaiian Hula Dancing	The Grandparents' Hour: Tales That Teach Children	Grape Leaves	Calling the Cotton Press' Work Songs and Stories	Tap Dance	Rappers and Turntable Wizards	Sweet Potato Casserole	4:00
5:00	St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tingit Stories and Legends	Salmon Preservation		African-American Spirituals and Shouts. The Moving Star Hall Singers				Gospel Singing	Black Vaudeville, Minstrelsy, and Med Shows Dance Traditions	Greens	5:00
	Esquimo Games	Alaskan Occupations							Collegiate Stepping	Spoons and Washboard Slim		
	Southeast Indian Dance	Yupik Eskimo Stories and Dance							DJ, Rapping and Break Dancing	Sacred Singing and Street Corner Sounds	Biscuits	
									Grand Masters of Funk and Scanner Boys		Sweet Potato Pie	

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Sunday, July 1

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information

Musical performances at the Festival have been partially funded by a grant from the Music Performance Trust Funds.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 at The Grand Generation area

Volunteer interpreters will be available upon request at the Volunteers Tent

Alaska Program

The Grand Generation: Folklore and Aging

Black Urban Expressive Culture from Philadelphia

	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Presentations
11:00	St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo Dance	Yupik Eskimo Stories and Dance	Salmon Preservation	Occupations: Bush pilots – skills and lore of Alaskan pilots; meet pilots and see their equipment, log books, scrapbooks and other memorabilia
12:00	Athabaskan Song	Alaska Native Traditions	Fishing Boat Cookery: Chowders	
1:00	Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Sourdough Cookery: Pancakes	Miners – occupational folklife of placer goldmining; sluice box demonstrations, panning for gold, maps, photos and miners' memorabilia
2:00	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Eskimo Stories and String Games	Fishing Boat Cookery: Work Food	Loggers – loggers demonstrate power bucking, obstacle pole bucking, choker setting, ax throwing and the use of a yarder; tree cutting at 12 noon daily
3:00	Eskimo Games	Alaskan Occupations	Sourdough Cookery: Breads	Fishermen – discussions with Alaskan fishermen and women and demonstrations of the manufacture, use and maintenance of their gear
4:00	Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Salmon Preservation	Crafts: a variety of Native Alaskan crafts including Inupiaq Eskimo carvers, Athabaskan beadworkers, Yupik Eskimo fancy parka makers, Southeast Alaskan Indian Chilkat weavers and Aleut basketmakers
5:00	Athabaskan Song	Alaskan Occupations		
	St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo Dance	Yupik Eskimo Stories and Dance		

	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Presentations
11:00	Old-Time Music: Wade and Julia Mainer	African-American Storytelling	Fruit Leathers	Crafts: demonstrations all day – split-oak basketmaking, southern pottery, toymaking, stone-carving, embroidery, quilting, net making, crab pot making, hide tanning and beadworking
12:00	African-American Spirituals and Shouts	Yiddish Parables and Children's Games	Chicken Pies	
1:00	Appalachian Music: Tommy Jarrell and Friends	A Sense of Place: Chesapeake Bay Storytelling	Norwegian Cookies	Learning Center: The Grand Generation exhibition and oral history project – Smithsonian Folklorists interview Festival visitors about their memories, stories and traditions.
2:00	Hawaiian Hula Dancing	Grandfatherly Knowledge: Hispanic Tales	Chicken Pies	
3:00	African-American Spirituals: Reverend Daniel Womack	Ballads from the Appalachian Coalfields	Norwegian Cookies	
4:00	Laotian Music, Song and Dance	Older Folk Artists and Community History	Grape Leaves	
5:00	Blues: John and James Jackson	Honoring the Elders: Native American Traditions		
		"Calling the Cotton Press": Work Songs and Stories		

	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways
11:00	Revue	Street Poetry	Greens
12:00			Biscuits
1:00	Do-wop Singing	Street Poetry	Sweet Potato Pie
2:00	Street Drills: Candies	Rappers and Turntable Wizards	Greens
3:00	Traditional Comedy	Black Stepping Traditions	Biscuits
4:00	Tap Dance	Popping and Break Dancing	Sweet Potato Casserole
5:00	Gospel Singing	Black Vaudeville, Minstrelsy, and Med Shows	Greens
	Collegiate Stepping	Dance Traditions	Biscuits
	Spoons and Washboard Slim	Sacred Singing and Street Corner Sounds	Sweet Potato Pie
	DJ, Rapping and Break Dancing: Grand Masters of Funk and Scanner Boys		

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Festival of American Folklife

General Information

Festival Hours

Opening ceremonies for the Festival will be held in the Alaska Performance tent at 11:00 a.m., Wednesday, June 27. Thereafter, Festival hours will be 11:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. daily, with two evening concerts at 7:30 p.m. on June 29 and July 6 at the Sylvan Theatre Stage. On concert evenings food sales and a performance stage will continue from 5:30 until 7:15 p.m.

Food Sales

Alaskan seafood will be sold in the Alaska area, soul food representing Philadelphia will be available in the Black Expressive Culture area, and traditional foods of older Americans will be sold in The Grand Generation area. Beverage stands also will be set up throughout the site, and GSI food sales will be located at various points near the site.

Sales

A variety of crafts and records relating to the 1984 Festival programs will be sold in the Craft Sales and Information tent on the Festival site.

Press

Visiting members of the press are invited to register at the Festival Press tent on Madison Drive at 12th Street.

First Aid

An American Red Cross mobile unit will be set up in a tent in the Administration area near 12th Street on Madison Drive, during regular Festival hours. The Health Units in the Museums of American History and Natural History are open from 10:00 a.m. to 7:30 p.m.

Rest Rooms

There are outdoor facilities for the public and disabled visitors located in all of the program areas on the Mall. Additional rest room facilities are available in each of the museum buildings during visiting hours.

Telephones

Public telephones are available on the site opposite the Museums of Natural History and American History, and inside the museums.

Lost and Found/Lost Children and Parents

Lost items may be turned in or retrieved at the Volunteer tent in the Administration area. Lost family members may be claimed at the Volunteer tent also. We advise putting a name tag on youngsters who may be prone to wander.

Bicycle Racks

Racks for bicycles are located at the entrances to each of the Smithsonian museums.

Metro Stations

Metro trains will be running every day of the Festival. The Festival site is easily accessible to either the Smithsonian or Federal Triangle stations on the Blue-Orange line.

Services for Disabled Visitors

Sign language interpreters will be available at the Festival each day in a specified program area. See schedule for particulars. Oral interpreters will be available upon advance request if you call (202) 357-1696 (TDD) or (202) 357-1697 (voice). There are a few designated parking spaces for disabled visitors at various points along both Mall drives. These spaces have the same time restrictions as other public spaces on the Mall.

Evening Concerts

At 7:30 p.m. on Friday, June 29 (rain date, Saturday, June 30) and Friday, July 6 (rain date, Saturday, July 7), an evening concert will be held at the Sylvan Theatre on the Washington Monument grounds. These concerts will present music and dance from the programs featured at the Festival.

Southeastern Pottery Exhibition

From June 27 through August 19 an exhibition presenting ware made by the traditional potters still operating throughout the South will be on display in the National Museum of American History. This exhibition was organized by the Office of Folklife Programs for the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service.

National Heritage Fellowship Program

The National Endowment for the Arts' National Heritage Fellowships are awarded each year to outstanding traditional artists from across the nation. These artists exemplify authenticity and excellence in their art form and have attained stature in their tradition and their community. The Festival of American Folklife is proud to present four of the 1984 National Heritage Fellowship recipients:

Janie Hunter, Black singer/story-teller — South Carolina
Paul Tiulana, Inupiaq Eskimo mask maker/dancer/singer — Alaska
Cleofes Vigil, Hispanic storyteller/singer — New Mexico
Emily Zuttermeister, master hula teacher — Hawaii

Additional recipients of the 1984 National Heritage Fellowships are:

Clifton Chenier, Louisiana Creole accordionist — Louisiana
Bertha Cook, knotted bedspread maker — North Carolina
Joe Cormier, New England fiddler (Nova Scotia) — Massachusetts
Elizabeth Cotten, Black songster/song writer — Washington, D.C.
Burlon Craig, Appalachian potter — North Carolina
Albert Fahlbusch, hammered dulcimer maker and player — Nebraska
Mary Jane Manigault, Black Carolina basketmaker — South Carolina
Genevieve Mouglin, Lebanese lace maker — Iowa
Martin Mulvihill, Irish fiddler — New York
Howard (Sandman) Sims, Black tap dancer — New York
Ralph Stanley, old time country banjo and fiddle band — Virginia
Margaret Tafoya, Santa Clara Pueblo potter — New Mexico
Dave Tarras, klezmer clarinetist — New York

Festival Staff

Festival Co-Directors: Diana Parker, Peter Seitel

Alaska Program Coordinator: Larry Deemer

Assistant Coordinators: Kate Porterfield, Warren Smith

Assistant Participant Coordinator: Anna McAlear

Consultant: Suzi Jones

Fieldworkers: Suzi Jones, Jens Lund, Bob McCarl, Peter Seitel, Chuck Smythe

Technical Assistant: Eric Annis
Clerk/Typist: Melanie LaBorwit

Presenters: George Charles, Julie Folta, Suzi Jones, Anna Katzeek, Jens Lund, Sue Manos, Bob McCarl, Barry Lee Pearson, Jack Santino, Velma Wallis

Sound Crew: Peter Derbyshire, Mark Fitzgerald

Performance Stage Manager: Steve Green

Workshop Stage Manager: Susan Levitas

Chief Volunteer: Annie Bell

The Grand Generation Program Coordinator: Marjorie Hunt

Assistant Coordinator: Ann Dancy

Assistant Participant Coordinator: Jennifer Cutting

Consultants: Mary Hufford, Barbara Myerhoff, Steven Zeitlin

Fieldworkers: Mary Hufford, Marjorie Hunt, Steven Zeitlin

Presenters: Elena Bradunas, Cheryl Brauner, Rayna Green, Mary Hufford, Geraldine Johnson, Susan Kalcik, Amy Kotkin, Jack Santino, Nicolas Schidlovsky, Gregory Sharrow, Nick Spitzer, Steven Zeitlin

Sound Crew: Mathieu Chabert, Mike Rivers

Performance Stage Manager: Al McKinney

Chief Volunteer: Catherine Jacobs

Black Urban Expressive Culture Program Coordinator: Kazadi wa Mukuna

Assistant Coordinator: Rose Engelland

Assistant Participant Coordinator: Carolyn Weary

Consultant: Glenn Hinson, Bernice Reagon

Fieldworker: Glenn Hinson

Presenters: Mellonee Burnim, Jane Sapp, William H. Wiggins, Jr.

Sound Crew: Mike Herter, Gregg Lamping

Performance Stage Manager: Mark Donatien

Workshop Stage Manager: Larry Wise

Foodways Program Coordinator: Charles Camp

Consultant: Joan Nathan

Fieldworker: Joan Nathan

Presenters: Charles Camp, Tim Lloyd, Phyllis May

Administrative Officer (on leave): Betty Beuck Derbyshire

Acting Administrative Officer: Jewell Dulaney

Festival Services Manager: Barbara Strickland

Participant Coordinator: Tinika Ossman

Chief Volunteers: Joharie Rashad, Tom Sinclair, Neville Waters, Jr.

Technical Coordinator: Richard Derbyshire

Grounds Crew Director: Peter Magoon

Clerk/Typist: Stefanie Procopiow

Construction Director: Van Mertz

Grounds Crew: Beth Curren, Michael Dolan, Robin Galbraith, Lea Hart, Pat Hunt, Terry Meniefield, Fred Price, Noaa Shareak, Alaric Strickland, Joe Viola, Holly Wright

Chief Volunteer: Corinne Libby

Designer: Daphne Shuttleworth

Assistant: Linda McKnight

Lay-Out Assistant: Joan Wolbier

Special Events Coordinator: Sarah Lewis

Program Book Editor: Thomas Vennum, Jr.

Coordinator: Arlene Liebenau

Volunteer Coordinator: Gail Carter

Assistant Coordinator: Annetta Dexter

Evening Concerts Chief Volunteer: France Galindo

Supply Coordinator: Anya Nykyloriak

Assistant: Mark Puryear

Sound Production Coordinator: Cal Southworth

Sound Production Crew Chief: Phil Fox

Sound Production Crew: Dean Langwell, Jimmie Silman III, Erwin Webb

Chief Volunteer: Sue Goodwin

Office Assistant: Linda Benner

Festival Aides: Yvonne Chapman, Francesca McLean, Ed Nolin, Johanna Timpson

Logistics Coordinator: Dorothy Neumann

Craft Sales Coordinator: Karen Brown

Public Information: Susan Bliss, Leslie Braunstein

Visitors Hospitality Chief Volunteer: Linda Groff

Site Designer: Richard Derbyshire

Site Consultant: Ken Dresser

Sign Language Interpreters: Janet Bailey, Jean Lindquist, Hank Young

Volunteer Interpreter: Barry Nickelsberg

Photographers: Richard Hofmeister, Kim Nielsen, Dane Penland, Jeff Ploskonka, Jeff Tinsley

Internal Office Support

Accounting
Administration
Anthropology Dept., NMNH
Audio-Visual Unit
Communication & Transportation
Congressional & Public Information
Contracts
Duplicating
Elementary & Secondary Education / Special Education
Exhibits Central
Dept. of Exhibits NMAH
General Counsel
Grants & Risk Management
History of Science & Technology Dept. NMAH
Horticulture
Management Analysis
Membership & Development
OPlants
Personnel
Photographic Services
Press
Public Affairs
Dept. of Public Programs NMAH
Public Service
Security & Protection
SITES
Supply Services
Travel Services
Visitor Information & Associates Reception Ctr.

Special Thanks

General Festival
We extend special thanks to all the volunteers at this year's Festival. With their assistance we are able to present the programs of the 1984 Festival of American Folklife.

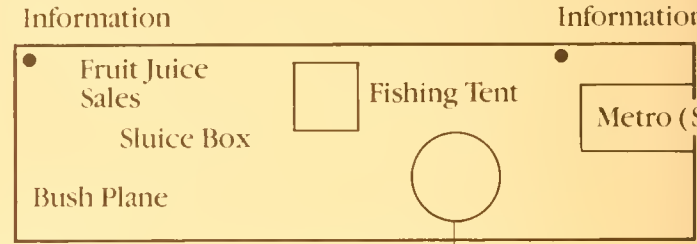
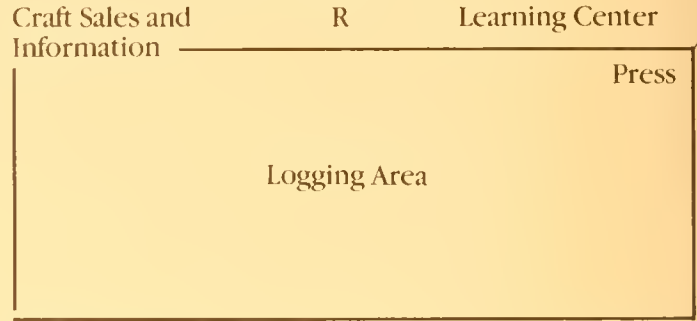
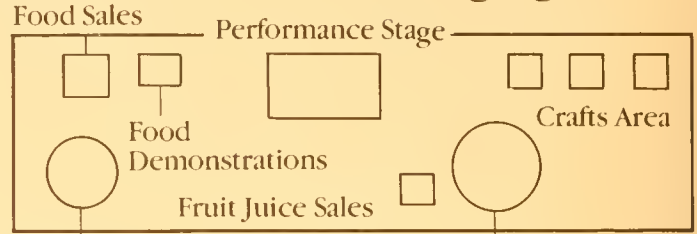
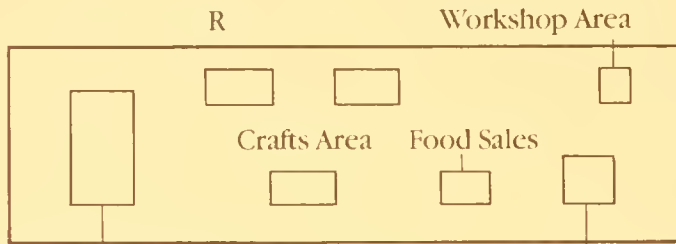
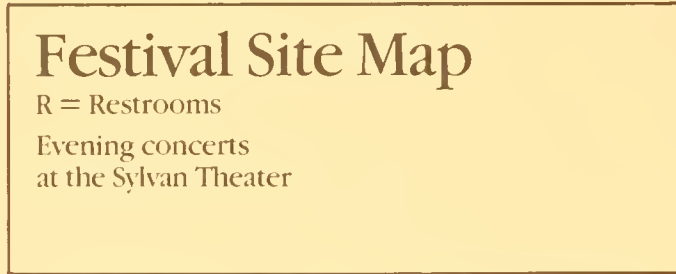
Exxon Corporation
Folklore Society of Greater Washington
National Council of Traditional Arts
National Portrait Gallery Cabinet Exhibit Shop
Bill Pearson
Jack Skuce
Spirit of '76
Washington Convention & Visitors Assn.
Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority
Dwain Winters
Alaska Program
Alaska Geographic Society
Alaska State Council on the Arts
Earl Beistline
Alex Bertulis
Carol Derfner, Office of the Governor
Jack Fisher, Alaska Pilots' Assn.
Lary Golden
Bill Hudson, Alaska Seafood Marketing Inst.
Ben Jones, Northwest and Alaska Fishing Center, Seattle, WA
Allen Korhonen, Human Resources, Washington, D.C.
Governor's Office
Steve Langdon
Mark Pawlicki, National Forest Products Assn.
Riverbend Sawmill
Mary Francis Siltich, Seaplane Pilots' Assn.
David Squires
Lori Svensson, Alaska Seafood Marketing Inst.
John Taber, Human Resources, Washington, D.C. Governor's Office
Jim Thorsen, George Washington National Forest
Bob Wolfe, National Marine Fisheries Service, Washington, D.C.
Peggy Youcm
The Grand Generation Program
Jane Beck
Carlo Bergomi
Robert Bethke
Elena Bradunas
Annette Buchanan
Kim Burdick
Robert Burghardt
Charles Camp
Jehu Camper
Lillian Camper
George Carey
Reed Cherington
Amanda Dargan
Liz Dear
Amber Densmore
Jane Deren
Elaine Eff
Irene Fay
Carl Fleischhauer
Doris Francis-Erhard
Meg Glaser
Henry Glassie
Viola Hanscam
Goodwin Harding
Suzi Jones
Porter Kier
Barbara Kirshenblatt Gimblett
Michael Korn

Madison Drive

Museum of American History

Folklore in Aging

14th Street



Alaska

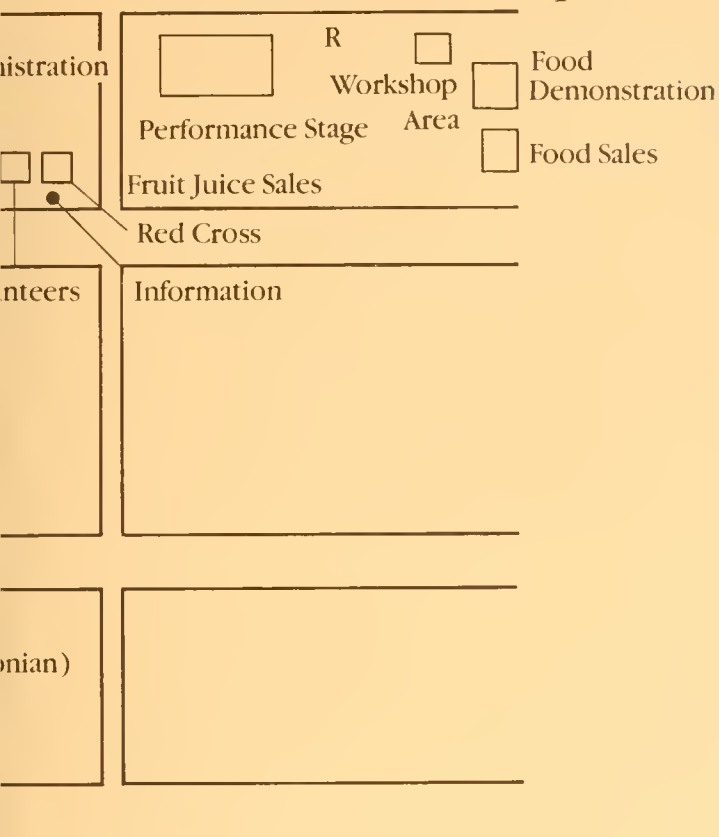
Jefferson Drive

Department of Agriculture

- Amy Kotkin
- Marsha MacDowell
- Kathleen Mundell
- Blanton Owen
- Estelle Pierce
- Eddie Rankin, Twin Springs
Fruit Farm, Orrtanna, PA
- Joe Reid
- Gwen Rochester
- Sue Samuelson
- Don Sepulveda
- Elizabeth Sharpe
- Steve Siporin
- Bob Teske
- Elaine Thatcher
- Sandra Timmerman
- Zenna Todd
- Barre Toelken
- Two Eagle River School
- Vilius Variakojis
- William W. Warner
- Henry Willett
- Joe Wilson
- Clarissa Wittenberg
- Lloyd Wright
- Peggy Yocum
- Helen Zimmer

- Black Urban Expressive
Culture Program
- Arena Stage
- Carole Boughter
- Martha Bowditch
- Breaker Boy Crew
- Saul Broudy
- Carolyn Bryant Ensemble
- Wendy "Lady B" Clark
- LeeEllen Friedland
- "Geech"
- Gentleman Zodd and the
Fantastic 3
- Folklife Center, International
House of Philadelphia
- Matunda Ya Afrika
- New Gospel Light Music Store
- Sally Peterson
- The Smurlettes
- South Philadelphia Soul
Steppers
- Pamela Thompson
- David Vann, WDAS
- WDAS Radio, Philadelphia
- WHAT Radio, Philadelphia
- Reverend Louise Williams,
WDAS

Black Urban Expressive Culture from Philadelphia



Participants in the 1984 Festival of American Folklife

Alaska Participants

Crafts

- Rita Blumenstein, Yupik Eskimo basketmaker/storyteller – Palmer
 William Lee Burkhart II, Tlingit woodcarver – Wrangell
 Delores Churchill, Haida basketmaker – Ketchikan
 Belle Deacon, Athabaskan basketmaker – Grayling
 Daisy Demientieff, Athabaskan basketmaker – Anchorage
 Elsie Douglas, Inupiaq Eskimo basketmaker – Ambler
 Thomas Douglas, Inupiaq Eskimo dog sled maker – Ambler
 Anna Brown Ehlers, Tlingit Chilkat weaver – Juneau
 Bella Francis, Athabaskan snowshoe maker/beatworker – Ft. Yukon
 Simon Francis, Sr., Athabaskan snowshoe maker – Ft. Yukon
 Irene Guthrie, Tsimshian basketmaker – Ketchikan
 Eva Hefle, Inupiaq Eskimo dollmaker – Kotzebue

- Ester Littlefield, Tlingit beadworker/cultural historian – Sitka
 Larry Matfay, Aleut games – Kodiak Island
 Martha Matfay, Aleut basketmaker – Kodiak Island
 Flora Mather, Tsimshian basketmaker – Ketchikan
 Ella Nichols, Yupik Eskimo grass fishbag maker/basketmaker – Kasigluk
 Joe Nichols, Yupik Eskimo fish trap maker – Kasigluk
 Selina Peratrovich, Haida basketmaker – Ketchikan
 Johnny Peter, Jr., Athabaskan fish wheel builder – Ft. Yukon
 Louise Peter, Athabaskan beadworker – Ft. Yukon
 Tony Peter, Athabaskan fish wheel builder – Ft. Yukon
 Wayne Price, Tlingit woodcarver – Wrangell
 Delores Sloan, Athabaskan beadworker – Fairbanks
 Dolly Spencer, Inupiaq Eskimo dollmaker – Homer
 Gertrude Swamy, Aleut basketmaker – Unalaska
 Jenny Thlunaut, Tlingit Chilkat weaver – Kluckwan
 Clara Tiulana, Inupiaq Eskimo skin sewer – Anchorage
 Paul Tiulana, Inupiaq Eskimo ivory carver/storyteller – Anchorage

Foodways

- Debby Dalton, regional cook – Hoonah
 Geraldine Dick, regional cook – Hoonah
 Charlene Nelson, regional cook – Ketchikan

Occupations

Bush Pilots

- Ruth Jefford – Wasilla
 Donald E. "Butch" Vent – Sitka
 Alden Williams – Anchorage

Fishermen and Women

- Richard Dalton, Sr., Tlingit – Hoonah
 George Davis, Tlingit – Hoonah
 Raymond Dick, Tlingit – Hoonah
 Nels Evens – Petersburg
 Geraldine Frink – Petersburg
 Max Haube – Petersburg
 Eldor Lee – Petersburg
 Heidi Ruth Lee – Petersburg
 Charles Nelson, Haida – Ketchikan

Loggers

- Bryan Bickar – Sitka
 Oliver "Porky" Bickar – Sitka
 Art Brooks – Anacortes, Washington
 Vernon Eliason – Sitka
 Ted Larsen – Sitka
 Gary Winnop – Sitka

Miners

- Carl Heflinger – Fairbanks
 Walter Roman – Fairbanks
 Ernest Wolff – Fairbanks

Performers

Bethel Native Dancers

- Dick Andrew, Yupik Eskimo drummer/singer – Bethel
 Elena Charles, Yupik Eskimo dancer – Bethel
 Nicholas A. Charles, Sr., Yupik Eskimo drummer/singer – Bethel
 Joe Chief, Jr., Yupik Eskimo masked dancer – Bethel
 Lucy Jacobs, Yupik Eskimo dancer – Bethel

Eskimo Games

- Robert "Big Bob" Aiken, Inupiaq Eskimo – Barrow
 Louise Charles, Yupik Eskimo – Bethel
 Gregory Nothstine, Inupiaq Eskimo – Anchorage
 Joshua Okpik, Jr., Inupiaq Eskimo – Barrow
 Carol Picket, Inupiaq Eskimo – Fairbanks
 Brian Randazzo, Aleut – Anchorage

Gajaa Heen Dancers

- Chris Baty, Tlingit dancer – Mt. Edgecumbe
 Isabella Brady, Tlingit, program director – Sitka
 Betsy Brown, Eskimo/Aleut dancer – Mt. Edgecumbe
 Melonie Duncan, Tlingit dancer – Sitka

- Douglas Gray, Tlingit dancer – Sitka

- Brian James, Tlingit dancer – Mt. Edgecumbe
 Roberta James, Tlingit drummer/dancer – Mt. Edgecumbe

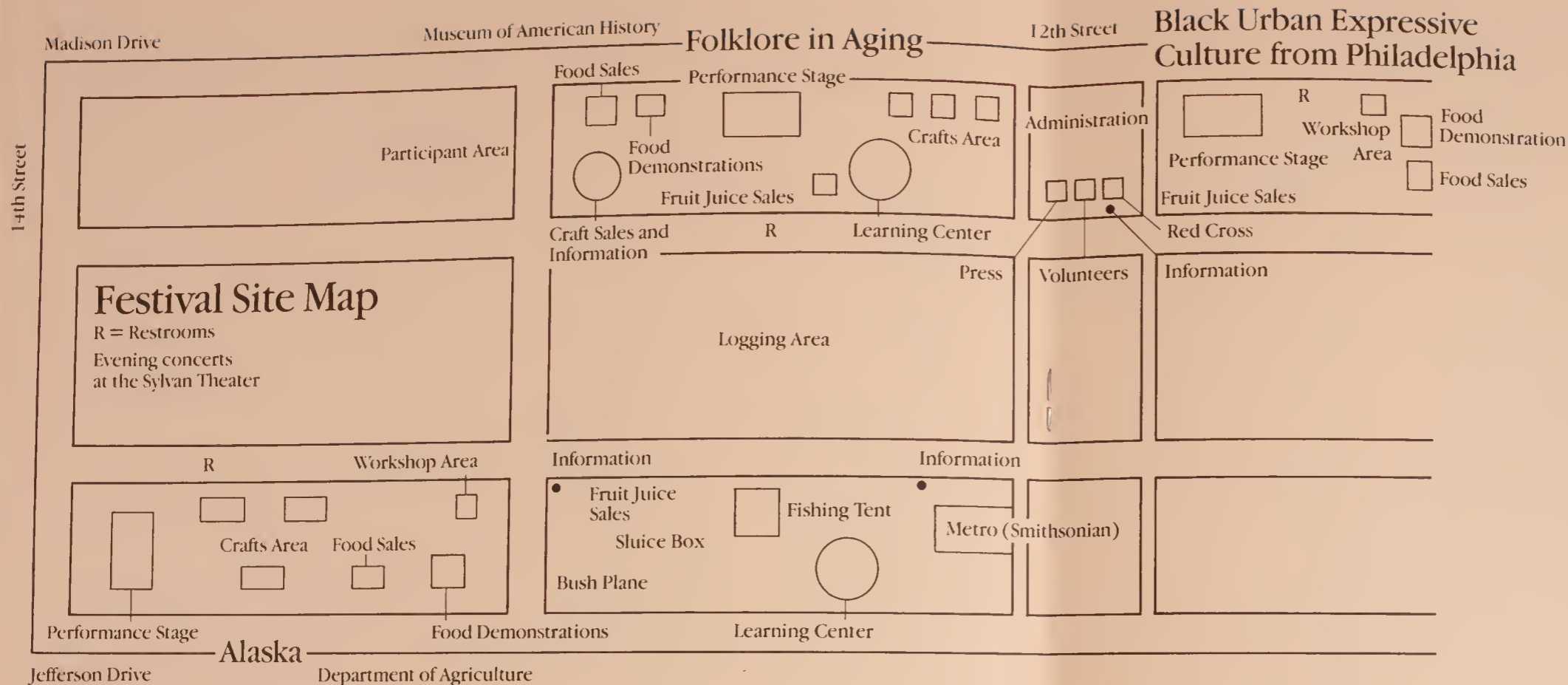
- Ethel Makinen, Tlingit, song caller/dance instructor – Sitka

- Lillian Nielsen, Tlingit drummer/dancer – Sitka

- Alicia Williams, Tlingit dancer – Sitka

Gambell Singers and Dancers

- Steven Aningayou, St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo singer/dancer – Gambell
 Melvin Apassingok, St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo singer/dancer – Gambell
 Wesley Apatiki, St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo singer/dancer – Gambell
 Lewis Iyakitan, St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo singer/dancer – Gambell
 Vivian Iyakitan, St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo dancer – Gambell
 Delia Oozevaseuk, St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo dancer – Gambell



Black Urban Expressive Culture from Philadelphia

- Ester Littlefield, Tlingit bead worker cultural historian - Sitka
 Larry Matlay, Aleut games - Kodiak Island
 Martha Matlay, Aleut basketmaker - Kodiak Island
 Flora Mather, Tsimshian basketmaker - Ketchikan
 Ella Nichols, Yupik Eskimo grass fishbag maker basketmaker - Kasigluk
 Joe Nichols, Yupik Eskimo fish trap maker - Kasigluk
 Selina Peratrovich, Haida basketmaker - Ketchikan
 Johnny Peter, Jr., Athabaskan fish wheel builder - Ft. Yukon
 Lounse Peter, Athabaskan beadworker - Ft. Yukon
 Tony Peter, Athabaskan fish wheel builder - Ft. Yukon
 Wayne Price, Tlingit woodcarver - Wrangell
 Delores Sloan, Athabaskan beadworker - Fairbanks
 Dolly Spencer, Inupiaq Eskimo dollmaker - Homer
 Gertrude Svamy, Aleut basketmaker - Unalaska
 Jenny Thlunaut, Tlingit Chilkat weaver - Kluckwan
 Clara Tiulana, Inupiaq Eskimo skin sewer - Anchorage
 Paul Tiulana, Inupiaq Eskimo ivory carver storyteller - Anchorage
- Miners**
 Carl Hellinger - Fairbanks
 Walter Roman - Fairbanks
 Ernest Wolff - Fairbanks
- Performers**
Betbel Native Dancers
 Dick Andrew, Yupik Eskimo drummer singer - Bethel
 Elena Charles, Yupik Eskimo dancer - Bethel
 Nicholas A. Charles, Sr., Yupik Eskimo drummer singer - Bethel
 Joe Chief, Jr., Yupik Eskimo masked dancer - Bethel
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 Joshua Okpik, Jr., Inupiaq Eskimo - Barrow
 Carol Pickett, Inupiaq Eskimo - Fairbanks
 Brian Randazzo, Aleut - Anchorage
- Gajaa Heen Dancers*
 Chris Baty, Tlingit dancer - Mt. Edgecumbe
 Isabella Brady, Tlingit, program director - Sitka
 Betsy Brown, Eskimo Aleut dancer - Mt. Edgecumbe
 Melonie Duncan, Tlingit dancer - Sitka
 Douglas Gray, Tlingit dancer - Sitka

- Amy Kotkin
 Marsha MacDowell
 Kathleen Mundell
 Blanton Owen
 Estelle Pierce
 Eddie Rankin, Twin Springs Fruit Farm, Orttanna, PA
 Joe Reid
 Gwen Rochester
 Sue Samuelson
 Don Sepulveda
 Elizabeth Sharpe
 Steve Siporin
 Bob Teske
 Elaine Thatcher
 Sandra Timmerman
 Zenna Todd
 Barre Toelken
 Two Eagle River School
 Vilus Variakojis
 William W. Warner
 Henry Willett
 Joe Wilson
 Clarissa Wittenberg
 Lloyd Wright
 Peggy Yocum
 Helen Zimmer

- Black Urban Expressive Culture Program
 Arena Stage
 Carole Boughter
 Martha Bowditch
 Breaker Boy Crew
 Saul Broudy
 Carolyn Bryant Ensemble
 Wendy "Lady B" Clark
 LeeEllen Friedland
 "Geech"
 Gentleman Zodd and the Fantastic 3
 Folklife Center, International House of Philadelphia
 Matunda Ya Afrika
 New Gospel Light Music Store
 Sally Peterson
 The Smurfettes
 South Philadelphia Soul Steppers
 Pamela Thompson
 David Vann, WDAS
 WDAS Radio, Philadelphia
 WHAT Radio, Philadelphia
 Reverend Louise Williams, WDAS

Participants in the 1984 Festival of American Folklife

Alaska Participants

- Crafts**
 Rita Blumenstein, Yupik Eskimo basketmaker storyteller - Palmer
 William Lee Burkhardt II, Tlingit woodcarver - Wrangell
 Delores Churchill, Haida basketmaker - Ketchikan
 Belle Deacon, Athabaskan basketmaker - Grayling
 Daisy Demientieff, Athabaskan basketmaker - Anchorage
 Elsie Douglas, Inupiaq Eskimo basketmaker - Ambler
 Thomas Douglas, Inupiaq Eskimo dog sled maker - Ambler
 Anna Brown Ehlers, Tlingit Chilkat weaver - Juneau
 Bella Francis, Athabaskan snow shoe maker headworker - Ft. Yukon
 Simon Francis, Sr., Athabaskan snowshoe maker - Ft. Yukon
 Irene Guthrie, Tsimshian basketmaker - Ketchikan
 Eva Helle, Inupiaq Eskimo doll maker - Kotzebue

Foodways

- Debby Dalton, regional cook - Hoonah
 Geraldine Dick, regional cook - Hoonah
 Charlene Nelson, regional cook - Ketchikan
- Occupations**
Bush Pilots
 Ruth Jefford - Wasilla
 Donald E. "Butch" Vent - Sitka
 Alden Williams - Anchorage
Fishermen and Women
 Richard Dalton, Sr., Tlingit - Hoonah
 George Davis, Tlingit - Hoonah
 Raymond Dick, Tlingit - Hoonah
 Nels Evens - Petersburg
 Geraldine Frink - Petersburg
 Max Haube - Petersburg
 Eldor Lee - Petersburg
 Heidi Ruth Lee - Petersburg
 Charles Nelson, Haida - Ketchikan
- Loggers*
 Bryan Bickar - Sitka
 Oliver "Porky" Bickar - Sitka
 Art Brooks - Anacortes, Washington
 Vernon Eliason - Sitka
 Ted Larsen - Sitka
 Gary Winnop - Sitka

- Gambell Singers and Dancers*
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 Wesley Apatiki, St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo singer/dancer - Gambell
 Lewis Iyakitan, St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo singer/dancer - Gambell
 Vivian Iyakitan, St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo dancer - Gambell
 Delia Oozevasetuk, St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo dancer - Gambell

Estelle Oozevaseuk, St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo dancer — Gambell
 Evangeline Tungiyán, St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo dancer — Gambell
 Jerry Tungiyán; St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo singer dancer — Gambell
 Linda J. Tungiyán, St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo dancer — Gambell

Austin Hammond, Tlingit storyteller/cultural historian — Haines
King Island Dancers Inupiaq
Sebastian McGinty's Yukon Group
 Billy Demoski, Athabaskan guitarist/singer — Galena
 Berchman Esmailka, Athabaskan fiddler — Nulato
 Sebastian McGinty, Sr., Athabaskan singer — Kaltag
Nunamata Dancers
 Chuna McIntyre, Yupik Eskimo storyteller/dancer — Anchorage
 Dora Moore, Yupik Eskimo dancer — Anchorage
 Walter "Babe" Williams, Tlingit master storyteller — Hoonah

The Grand Generation Participants

Crafts

Rachel Bowers, Native American craftsperson — Pablo, Montana
 Jehu Camper, woodcarver — Harrington, Delaware
 Lillian Camper, chair caner — Harrington, Delaware
 Lucreaty Clark, basketmaker — Lamont, Florida
 Marie Detwiler, quilter — Pocomoke City, Maryland
 Kathryn Good, quilter — Lancaster, Pennsylvania
 Fern Hostetler, quilter — Westover, Maryland
 Alphonso Jennings, basketmaker — Lamont, Florida
 Genevieve King, quilter — Westover, Maryland
 Mayer Kirshenblatt, toymaker storyteller — Downsview, Ontario, Canada
 Susie Kurtz, quilter — Pocomoke City, Maryland
 Marolyn Minnich, quilter — Westover, Maryland
 Ethel Mohamed, embroiderer — Belzoni, Mississippi
 Zenna Todd, quilter — Ennice, North Carolina

Agnes Vanderburg, Native American craftsperson — Arlee, Montana
 Jean Ann Yoder, quilter — Westover, Maryland

Foodways

Rose Avadonian, regional cook — Waltham, Massachusetts
 Gudrun Berg, regional cook — Bemidji, Minnesota
 Aline Garrett, regional cook — Lafayette, Louisiana
 Aline Mitchell Garrett, regional cook — St. Martinville, Louisiana
 Frances Kitching, regional cook — Smith Island, Maryland
 Barbara Berg Swenson, regional cook — Tonka Bay, Minnesota

Occupations

Jerry Brown, southern potter — Hamilton, Alabama
 Lawrence Davis, Pullman porter — Washington, D.C.
 Ernie Ford, Pullman porter — Washington, D.C.
 Alex Kellam, Chesapeake Bay waterman — Crisfield, Maryland
 Ernest Kitching, Chesapeake Bay waterman — Smith Island, Maryland
 Lester Lee, Chesapeake Bay waterman — Chester, Maryland
 William Miller, Pullman porter — Washington, D.C.
 Roger Morigi, stone carver — Hyattsville, Maryland
 Vincent Palumbo, stone carver — Upper Marlboro, Maryland
 Patrick Plunkett, stone carver — Washington, D.C.
 L. C. Richie, Pullman porter — Washington, D.C.
 Constantine Seferlis, stone carver — Garrett Park, Maryland
 Gerald Stewart, southern potter — Louisville, Mississippi
 Rosina Tucker, labor and civil rights activist — Washington, D.C.

Performers

Clifford Blake, Sr., storyteller/singer — Natchitoches, Louisiana
 Andy Cahán, banjo player — Galax, Virginia
 Edward Edmo, Sr., storyteller — Wishram, Washington
 Alice Gerrard, guitar player/singer — Galax, Virginia
Indo Chinese Community Center
 Laotian musicians, singers, dancers — Washington, D.C.

James Jackson, guitar player — Fairfax Station, Virginia
 John Jackson, guitar player/singer — Fairfax Station, Virginia
 Tommy Jarrell, fiddler — Mt. Airy, North Carolina
 Doris Kirshenblatt, storyteller — Downsview, Ontario
 Hauoliionalani Lewis, hula dancer — Kaneohe, Oahu, Hawaii
 Noe Noe Lani Lewis, hula dancer — Kaneohe, Oahu, Hawaii
 Julia Mainer, guitar player — Flint, Michigan
 Wade Mainer, banjo player/singer — Flint, Michigan
The Moving Star Hall Singers
 Benjamin Bligen, spiritual singer and shouter — Johns Island, South Carolina
 Ruth Bligen, spiritual singer and shouter — Johns Island, South Carolina
 Shawdy Huggins, spiritual singer and shouter — Johns Island, South Carolina
 Janie Hunter, spiritual singer and shouter — Johns Island, South Carolina
 Mary Pinckney, spiritual singer and shouter — Johns Island, South Carolina
 Tiny Rivers, spiritual singer and shouter — Johns Island, South Carolina
 Yvonne Rivers, spiritual singer and shouter — Johns Island, South Carolina
 Loretta Stanley, spiritual singer and shouter — Johns Island, South Carolina
The Popovich Brothers Tamburitza Orchestra
 Bob Lalich, Tamburitza musician — Lansing, Illinois
 John Lazich, Tamburitza musician — Lansing, Illinois
 Peter Mistovich, Tamburitza musician — Dolton, Illinois
 Adam Popovich, Tamburitza musician — Dolton, Illinois
 Ted Popovich, Tamburitza musician — South Chicago, Illinois
 Cleofes Vigil, storyteller — San Cristobal, New Mexico
 Reverend Daniel Womack, storyteller/singer — Roanoke, Virginia
 Nimrod Workman, ballad singer — Mascot, Tennessee
 Kau'i Zuttermeister, hula dancer — Kaneohe, Oahu, Hawaii

Black Urban Expressive Culture Participants from Philadelphia

Foodways

Patricia Carson, regional cook — Philadelphia
 William Carson, regional cook — Philadelphia
 Arlena Davis, regional cook — Philadelphia

Performers

Candies

Jasmine Bryan, "Jas", street drills performer
 Shrene Goldsmith, "Rene", street drills performer
 Debbie Joiner, captain
 Nicole Joiner, "Nickie", street drills performer
 Kim Littlejohn, street drills performer
 Genea Mack, street drills performer
 Contessa Watson, "Tessa", street drills performer
Disco Queens and Kings
 Barbara Gilford, "Pineapple", GQ dancer
 Michael Gilford, GQ dancer/drummer
 Desirie Thomas, GQ dancer
 Ellison Thomas, GQ dancer/drummer
 Richie Thomas, GQ dancer/drummer
Grand Master Nell and the Punk Funk Nation
 Robert Bolling, "Robbie B", rapper
 Purnell Parker, "The Grand Master Nell", DJ/leader
 Ronald Parker, "Ronnie Ron", rapper
 Walter Rhone, "M.C. Caesar", rapper
Grand Masters of Funk
 Parris Ellis, "Parr P", rapper
 Gary Odum, "Gary Grand", DJ/leader
 Kevin Owens, "Cosmic Key", DJ
 Arnold Watts, "Money Man", rapper
Groove Phi Groove Social Fellowship
 Jeffrey A. Edwards, "Mr. Smooth", collegiate stepper
 Glenn Glasgow, "Quickdraw", collegiate stepper
 John Guthrie, "Ultra-Vibe", collegiate stepper
 Terrance T. Henderson, "Mr. T", collegiate stepper
 Eric M. Rutherford, "Sir Rap-a-Lot", collegiate stepper

Carleton Yearwood, "E-Man",
 collegiate stepper
International Playgirls
 "Lady Ice T", rapper
 "Lady Smurf", rapper
 Willie J. Jones, "Ashcan", comic
Arlene Mills Ultrasound
 Crystal McGruder, gospel singer
 Pastor Arlene Mills, piano
 player gospel singer
 Ethel Smith, gospel singer
 Lisa Speakes, gospel singer
 Wilfred Speakes, drummer
 gospel singer
 David Winslow, keyboards
 player gospel singer
Neighbor's Complaint
 Luther Moore, "L.A.", do-wop
 singer
 Bob Murphy, "Big Murf",
 do-wop singer leader
 Harry Schmitt, "Golden Voice
 Harry", do-wop singer
 Richard Tabron, "Rich", do-
 wop singer
New Emage
 Darrall Stanley Campbell,
 "Darrall", do-wop singer
 Andrew L. Rose, "Andy",
 do-wop singer
 Ricardo Rose, do-wop singer
 leader
 Alfred D. Williams, "Al",
 do-wop singer
 Anthony B. Williams, "Tony",
 do-wop singer
Philadelphia Tap Dancers
 Germaine Ingram, tap dancer
 Sandra Janoff, tap dancer
 LaVaughn Robinson, tap
 dancer leader
Scammer Boys
 George Bonilla, "Wild Legs",
 break dancer
 David Ellerbe, Jr., "Rene-
 gade", break dancer
 Lorenzo Harris, "Prince of the
 Ghetto", break dancer/leader
 Kevin Johnson, "Wildstyle",
 break dancer
 Gilbert H. Kennedy, "Shala-
 mar", break dancer
 Nathaniel J. McCray, "Grand
 Wizard Sly", DJ
*Sensational Cherubims Gospel
 Singers*
 Edward L. Abraham, gospel
 singer
 Cecil C. Brown, gospel singer
 Clarence E. Denkins, "Pop",
 gospel singer
 Smiley Fletcher, gospel singer
 Henry C. Thrower, "Duke",
 gospel singer

Frank Meadows, "Sonny", piano
 player
 Horace Williams, "Spoons",
 spoons player poet
 Robert Young, "Washboard
 Slim", washboard player

Wednesday, July 4

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information

Musical performances at the Festival have been partially funded by a grant from the Music Performance Trust Funds.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 in the Alaska area

Volunteer interpreters will be available upon request at the Volunteers Tent

Alaska Program

The Grand Generation: Folklore and Aging

Black Urban Expressive Culture from Philadelphia

	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Presentations
11:00	St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo Dance	Yupik Eskimo Stories and Dance	Salmon Preservation	Occupations: Bush pilots – skills and lore of Alaskan pilots; meet pilots and see their equipment, log books, scrapbooks and other memorabilia Miners – occupational folklife of placer goldmining, sluice box demonstrations, panning for gold, maps, photos and miners' memorabilia Loggers – loggers demonstrate power bucking, obstacle pole bucking, choker setting, ax throwing and the use of a yarder; tree cutting at 12 noon daily Fishermen – discussions with Alaskan fishermen and women and demonstrations of the manufacture, use and maintenance of their gear Crafts: a variety of Native Alaskan crafts including Inupiaq Eskimo carvers, Athabaskan beadworkers, Yupik Eskimo fancy parka makers, Southeast Alaskan Indian Chilkat weavers and Aleut basketmakers
12:00	Athabaskan Song	Alaska Native Traditions	Fishing Boat Cookery: Chowders	
	Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Sourdough Cookery: Pancakes	
1:00	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Eskimo Stories and String Games	Fishing Boat Cookery: Work Food	
2:00	Eskimo Games	Alaskan Occupations	Sourdough Cookery: Breads	
3:00	Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Salmon Preservation	
	Athabaskan Song	Tlingit Stories and Legends		
4:00	St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tlingit Stories and Legends		
	Eskimo Games	Alaskan Occupations		
5:00	Southeast Indian Dance: Gajaa Heen Dancers	Yupik Eskimo Stories and Dance: Nonamata Dancers		

	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Presentations
11:00	Bloes, John and James Jackson	In the Old Tradition Appalachian Music	Fruit Leathers	Crafts: demonstrations all day – split-oak basketmaking, southern pottery, toymaking, stone-carving, embroidery, quilting, net making, crab pot making, hide tanning and beadworking Learning Center: The Grand Generation exhibition and oral history project – Smithsonian folklorists interview Festival visitors about their memories, stories and traditions
12:00	Tamburitza Music: The Popovich Brothers Tamburitza Orchestra	Grandparents and Grandchildren in Several Cultures	Chicken Pies	
	African-American Spirituals: Reverend Daniel Womack	Traditional Stone Carvers	Norwegian Cookies	
1:00	Appalachian Music: Tommy Jarrell and Friends	Children's Games and Songs from the Sea Islands		
2:00	Hawaiian Hula Dancing	Traditional Foodways	Chicken Pies	
3:00	Old-Time Music: Wade and Julia Mainer	Grandfatherly Knowledge: Hispanic Tales	Norwegian Cookies	
4:00	African-American Spirituals and Shouts, The Moving Star Hall Singers	Honoring the Elders: Native American Traditions	Grape Leaves	
5:00		A Sense of Place: Chesapeake Bay Watermen		
		"Calling the Cotton Press": Work Songs and Stories		

	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways
11:00			Greens
12:00	Revue		Biscuits
1:00	Do-wop Singing	Sacred Harmonies	Sweet Potato Pie
	GQ Dancing	Stepping Styles	Greens
2:00	Traditional Comedy	Street Poetry	Biscuits
	Tap Dance	DJ Artistry	
3:00	Gospel	GQ, Popping, and Break Dancing	Sweet Potato Casserole
	Collegiate Stepping	Black Vaudeville, Minstrelsy, Med Shows	Greens
4:00	Spoons and Washboard Slim	A Capella, R&B Harmonizing	
	DJ, Rapping and Break Dancing: Grand Master Nell and the Punk Funk Nation, International Playgirls and the Scanner Boys	Dance Traditions	Biscuits
5:00			Sweet Potato Pie

The Alaska program has been made possible by the state of Alaska Department of Commerce and Economic Development through its Division of Tourism and the Alaska Seafood Marketing Institute. Additional funding has been made available through private and corporate donations.

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Thursday, July 5

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information

Musical performances at the Festival have been partially funded by a grant from the Music Performance Trust Funds.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 at The Grand Generation area

Volunteer interpreters will be available upon request at the Volunteers Tent

Alaska Program

The Grand Generation: Folklore and Aging

Black Urban Expressive Culture from Philadelphia

Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Presentations
11:00 St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo Dance	Yupik Eskimo Stories and Dance	Salmon Preservation	Occupations: Bush pilots – skills and lore of Alaskan pilots; meet pilots and see their equipment, log books, scrapbooks and other memorabilia
12:00 Athabaskan Song	Alaska Native Traditions	Fishing Boat Cookery: Chowders	
Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Sourdough Cookery: Pancakes	Miners – occupational folklife of placer goldmining, sluice box demonstrations, panning for gold, maps, photos and miners' memorabilia
1:00 Tlingit Stories and Legends	Eskimo Stories and String Games		
2:00 Southeast Indian Dance	Alaskan Occupations	Fishing Boat Cookery: Work Food	Loggers – loggers demonstrate power bucking, obstacle pole setting, ax throwing and the use of a yarder; tree cutting at 12 noon daily
Eskimo Games	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Sourdough Cookery: Breads	Fishermen – discussions with Alaskan fishermen and women and demonstrations of the manufacture, use and maintenance of their gear
3:00 Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tlingit Stories and Legends		
Athabaskan Song	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Salmon Preservation	Crafts: a variety of Native Alaskan crafts including Inupiaq Eskimo carvers, Athabaskan beadworkers, Yupik Eskimo fancy parka makers, Southeast Alaskan Indian Chilkat weavers and Aleut basketmakers
4:00 St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo Dance	Alaskan Occupations		
Eskimo Games	Yupik Eskimo Stories and Dance: Nunamata Dancers		
5:00 Southeast Indian Dance: Gajaja Ileen Dancers			

Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Presentations
11:00 Old-Time Music: Wade and Julia Mainer	African-American Storytelling	Fruit Leathers	Crafts: demonstrations all day – split-oak basketmaking, southern pottery, toymaking, stone-carving, embroidery, quilting, net making, crab pot making, hide tanning and beadworking
12:00 Blues: John and James Jackson	Hawaiian Hula Dancing	Chicken Pies	
Appalachian Ballads: Nimrod Workman	The Grandparents' Hour: Tales that Teach Children	Norwegian Cookies	Learning Center: The Grand Generation exhibition and oral history project – Smithsonian Folklorists interview Festival visitors about their memories, stories and traditions.
1:00 Tamburitzza Music: The Popovich Brothers Tamburitzza Orchestra	Children's Games and Songs from the Sea Islands		
2:00 Appalachian Music: Tommy Jarrell and Friends	Oral History: Sleeping Car Porters	Chicken Pies	
3:00 Hawaiian Hula Dancing	A Sense of Place: Chesapeake Bay Watermen	Norwegian Cookies	
African-American Spirituals and Shouts. The Moving Star Hall Singers	Honoring the Elders: Native American Traditions		
	Grandfatherly Knowledge: Hispanic Tales	Grape Leaves	
	"Calling the Cotton Press": Work Songs and Stories		

Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways
11:00 Revue		Greens
12:00 Do-wop Singing	Sacred Harmonies	Biscuits
GQ Dancing	Stepping Styles	Sweet Potato Pie
2:00 Traditional Comedy	Street Poetry	Greens
Tap Dance	DJ Artistry	Biscuits
3:00 Gospel	GQ, Popping, and Break Dancing	Sweet Potato Casserole
Collegiate Stepping	Black Vaudeville, Minstrelsy, Med Shows	Greens
4:00 Spoons and Washboard Slim	A Capella, R&B Harmonizing	Biscuits
DJ, Rapping and Break Dancing: Grand Master Nell and the Punk Funk Nation, International Playgirls and the Scanner Boys	Dance Traditions	Sweet Potato Pie

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Friday, July 6

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information

Musical performances at the Festival have been partially funded by a grant from the Music Performance Trust Funds

Evening Concert at 7:30 p.m. at the Sylvan Theatre

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 in the Black Urban Expressive Culture area

Volunteer interpreters will be available upon request at the Volunteers Tent

Alaska Program

The Grand Generation: Folklore and Aging

Black Urban Expressive Culture from Philadelphia

	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Presentations	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Presentations	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	
11:00	St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo Dance	Yupik Eskimo Stories and Dance	Salmon Preservation	Occupations: Bush pilots – skills and lore of Alaskan pilots, meet pilots and see their equipment, log books, scrapbooks and other memorabilia	Old-Time Music: Wade and Julia Mamer	Ballads from the Appalachian Coalfields	Fruit Leathers	Crafts: demonstrations all day – split-oak basketmaking, southern pottery, toymaking, stone-carving, embroidery, quilting, net making, crab pot making, hide tanning and beadworking			Greens	11:00
12:00	Athabaskan Song	Alaska Native Traditions	Fishing Boat Cookery: Chowders	Miners – occupational folklife of placer goldmining; sluice box demonstrations, panning for gold, maps, photos and miners' memorabilia	African-American Spirituals	A Sense of Place: Chesapeake Bay Watermen	Chicken Pies	Learning Center: The Grand Generation exhibition and oral history project – Smithsonian Folklorists interview Festival visitors about their memories, stories and traditions	Revue		Biscuits	12:00
1:00	Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tingit Stories and Legends	Sourdough Cookery: Pancakes	Loggers – loggers demonstrate power bucking, obstacle pole bucking, choker setting, ax throwing and the use of a yarder, tree cutting at 12 noon daily	Hawaiian Hula Dancing	Appalachian Music	Norwegian Cookies		Do-wop Singing	Sacred Harmonies	Sweet Potato Pie	1:00
2:00	Tingit Stories and Legends	Eskimo Stories and String Games			Traditional Stone Carvers				GQ Dancing	Stepping Styles	Greens	
3:00	Eskimo Games	Alaskan Occupations	Fishing Boat Cookery: Work Food	Fishermen – discussions with Alaskan fishermen and women and demonstrations of the manufacture, use and maintenance of their gear	African-American Spirituals and Shouts	Traditional Foodways	Chicken Pies		Traditional Comedy	Street Poetry	Biscuits	2:00
4:00	Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tingit Stories and Legends	Sourdough Cookery: Breads	Crafts: a variety of Native Alaskan crafts including Inupiaq Eskimo carvers, Athabaskan beadworkers, Yupik Eskimo fancy parka makers, Southeast Alaskan Indian Chulkat weavers and Aleut basketmakers	Tamburitza Music: The Popovich Brothers Tamburitza Orchestra	Grandfatherly Knowledge: Hispanic Tales	Norwegian Cookies		Tap Dance	DJ Artistry		
5:00	Athabaskan Song	Tingit Stories and Legends			Appalachian Music: Tommy Jarrell and Friends	Native American Traditions			Gospel	GQ, Popping, and Break Dancing	Sweet Potato Casserole	3:00
	St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tingit Stories and Legends	Salmon Preservation		Blues: John and James Jackson	Stories of Wit and Wisdom	Grape Leaves		Collegiate Stepping	Black Vaudeville, Minstrelsy, Med Shows	Greens	
	Eskimo Games	Alaskan Occupations			Older Folk Artists				Spoons and Washboard Slim	A Capella, R&B Harmonizing	Biscuits	4:00
	Southeast Indian Dance: Gajaa Heen Dancers	Yupik Eskimo Stories and Dance: Nunamata Dancers							DJ, Rapping and Break Dancing: Grand Master Nell and the Punk Funk Nation, International Playgirls and the Scanner Boys	Dance Traditions	Sweet Potato Pie	5:00

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Saturday, July 7

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information

Musical performances at the Festival have been partially funded by a grant from the Music Performance Trust Funds.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 in the Alaska area

Volunteer interpreters will be available upon request at the Volunteers Tent

Alaska Program

The Grand Generation: Folklore and Aging

Black Urban Expressive Culture from Philadelphia

	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Presentations	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Presentations	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	
11:00	St Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo Dance	Yupik Eskimo Stories and Dance	Salmon Preservation	Occupations: Bush pilots – skills and lore of Alaskan pilots, meet pilots and see their equipment, log books, scrapbooks and other memorabilia	Appalachian Ballads: Nimrod Workman	Children's Games and Songs from the Sea Islands	Fruit Leathers	Crafts: demonstrations all day – split-oak basketmaking, southern pottery, toymaking, stone-carving, embroidery, quilting, net making, crab pot making, hide tanning and beadworking			Greens	11:00
12:00	Athabaskan Song	Alaska Native Traditions	Fishing Boat Cookery: Chowders	Miners – occupational folklife of placer goldmining; sluice box demonstrations, panning for gold, maps, photos and miners' memorabilia	African-American Spirituals	Grandfatherly Knowledge: Hispanic Tales	Chicken Pies	Learning Center: The Grand Generation exhibition and oral history project – Smithsonian folklorists interview Festival visitors about their memories, stories and traditions	Revue		Biscuits	12:00
1:00	Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Sourdough Cookery: Pancakes	Loggers – loggers demonstrate power bucking, obstacle pole bucking, choker setting, ax throwing and the use of a yarder; tree cutting at 12 noon daily	Appalachian Music: Tommy Jarrell and Friends	Hawaiian Hula Dancing	Norwegian Cookies		Do-wop Singing	Sacred Harmonies	Sweet Potato Pie	1:00
2:00	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Eskimo Stories and String Games	Fishing Boat Cookery: Work Food	Fishermen – discussions with Alaskan fishermen and women and demonstrations of the manufacture, use and maintenance of their gear	Tamburitzza Music: The Popovich Brothers Tamburitzza Orchestra	A Sense of Place: Chesapeake Bay Watermen	Chicken Pies		GQ Dancing	Stepping Styles	Greens	2:00
3:00	Eskimo Games	Alaskan Occupations	Sourdough Cookery: Breads	Crafts: a variety of Native Alaskan crafts including Inupiat Eskimo carvers, Athabaskan beadworkers, Yupik Eskimo fancy parka makers, Southeast Alaskan Indian Chilkat weavers and Aleut basketmakers	Blues: John and James Jackson	Oral History: Sleeping Car Porters	Norwegian Cookies		Traditional Comedy	Street Poetry	Biscuits	3:00
4:00	Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Salmon Preservation		Hawaiian Hula Dancing	From Generation to Generation: Old-Time Music	Grape Leaves		Tap Dance	DJ Artistry	Sweet Potato Casserole	4:00
5:00	Athabaskan Song	Tlingit Stories and Legends			African-American Spirituals and Shouts: The Moving Star Hall Singers	Honoring the Elders: Native American Traditions			Gospel	GQ, Popping, and Break Dancing	Greens	5:00
	St Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tlingit Stories and Legends				The Grandparents Hour: Tales that Teach Children			Collegiate Stepping	Black Vaudeville, Minstrelsy, Med Shows	Biscuits	
	Eskimo Games	Alaskan Occupations				"Calling the Cotton Press": Work Songs and Stories			Spoons and Washboard Slim	A Capella, R&B Harmonizing	Sweet Potato Pie	
	Southeast Indian Dance: Gajaa Heen Dancers	Yupik Eskimo Stories and Dance: Nunamata Dancers							DJ, Rapping and Break Dancing: Grand Master Nell and the Punk Funk Nation, International Playgirls and the Scanner Boys	Dance Traditions		

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Sunday, July 8

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information

Musical performances at the Festival have been partially funded by a grant from the Music Performance Trust Funds.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 at the Alaska Performance Stage. Volunteer interpreters will be available upon request at the Volunteers Tent.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 in The Grand Generation area

Volunteer interpreters will be available upon request at the Volunteers Tent

Alaska Program

The Grand Generation: Folklore and Aging

Black Urban Expressive Culture from Philadelphia

	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Presentations	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Presentations	Performance Stage	Workshop Stage	Foodways	
11:00	St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo Dance	Yupik Eskimo Stories and Dance	Salmon Preservation	Occupations: Bush pilots – skills and lore of Alaskan pilots, meet pilots and see their equipment, log books, scrapbooks and other memorabilia	Old-Time Music: Wade and Julia Manner	African-American Storytelling	Fruit Leathers	Crafts: demonstrations all day – split-oak basketmaking, southern pottery, toymaking, stone-carving, embroidery, quilting, net making, crab pot making, hide tanning and beadworking			Greens	11:00
12:00	Athabaskan Song	Alaska Native Traditions	Fishing Boat Cookery: Chowders	Miners – occupational folklife of placer goldmining; sluice box demonstrations, panning for gold, maps, photos and miners' memorabilia	African-American Spirituals and Shouts	Yiddish Parables and Children's Games	Chicken Pies	Learning Center: The Grand Generation exhibition and oral history project – Smithsonian Folklorists interview Festival visitors about their memories, stories and traditions.	Revue		Biscuits	12:00
1:00	Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Sourdough Cookery: Pancakes	Loggers – loggers demonstrate power bucking, obstacle pole bucking, choker setting, ax throwing and the use of a yarder, tree cutting at 12 noon daily	Tamburitza Music: The Popovich Brothers Tamburitza Orchestra	A Sense of Place: Chesapeake Bay Storytelling	Norwegian Cookies		Do-wop Singing	Sacred Harmonies	Sweet Potato Pie	1:00
2:00	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Eskimo Stories and String Games	Fishing Boat Cookery: Work Food	Fishermen – discussions with Alaskan fishermen and women and demonstrations of the manufacture, use and maintenance of their gear	Appalachian Music: Tommy Jarrell and Friends	Grand-fatherly Knowledge: Hispanic Tales	Chicken Pies		GQ Dancing	Stepping Styles	Greens	2:00
3:00	Eskimo Games	Alaskan Occupations	Sourdough Cookery: Breads	Crafts: a variety of Native Alaskan crafts including Inupiat Eskimo carvers, Athabaskan beadworkers, Yupik Eskimo fancy parka makers, Southeast Alaskan Indian Chilkat weavers and Aleut basketmakers	African-American Spirituals: Reverend Daniel Womack	Ballads from the Appalachian Coalfields	Norwegian Cookies		Traditional Comedy	Street Poetry	Biscuits	3:00
4:00	Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tlingit Stories and Legends	Salmon Preservation		Hawaiian Hula Dancing	Older Folk Artists	Grape Leaves		Tap Dance	DJ Artistry	Sweet Potato Casserole	4:00
5:00	Athabaskan Song	Tlingit Stories and Legends			Blues: John and James Jackson	Honoring the Elders: Native American Traditions			Gospel	GQ, Popping, and Break Dancing	Greens	5:00
	St. Lawrence Island Yupik Eskimo Dance	Tlingit Stories and Legends				"Calling the Cotton Press": Work Songs and Stories			Collegiate Stepping	Black Vaudeville, Minstrelsy, Med Shows	Biscuits	
	Eskimo Games	Alaskan Occupations							Spoons and Washboard Slim	A Capella, R&B Harmonizing	Greens	
	Southeast Indian Dance	Yupik Eskimo Stories and Dance							DJ, Rapping and Break Dancing: Grand Master Nell and the Punk Funk Nation, International Playgirls and the Scanner Boys	Dance Traditions	Sweet Potato Pie	

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gospel hour on the radio, or the matachine society next door getting ready for the fiesta tomorrow. In the visual dimension, as the child watches the swift fingers of a basketmaker selecting and rejecting grass stems, or sees the seamstress making the vital decisions between contrastive or complementary colors, or absorbs, just by living with it, the spare dignity of furniture built in the Shaker style, an equal number of elegant distinctions are being learned, even though not taught.

Whether or not we practice or personally participate in the local art forms, each of us grows up within an aesthetic environment that helps us identify and express from whence we come. Thus we come to know early on whether our folks like to workshop God with big massed choirs or solo voices, to dance to oompah bands or to bluegrass combos, to sleep under overshot coverlets or woven Indian blankets. And, depending upon individual temperament, family attitudes, the demands of the larger society, and a myriad other variables, each of us may dedicate some part of ourselves to emulating those artistic features and techniques we most admire during our growing up days. We may begin to try playing the fiddle, clogging, whittling, or singing harmony.

A lot can be learned by observation and trial-and-error, or simply being part of the scene. But there are techniques, materials, specifics that are harder to come by. Where is the young learner to turn? Typically, to the grandparental generation. Parents are generally pretty busy people, earning the money, raising the babies, putting food on the table and clothes on the backs, running the farm or the household or the store or fulfilling the demands of the job. Even thinking about teaching a young child can be an added imposition, though most parents will "shew" a thing or two on the fly. But the longer term, more serious learning relationships generally skip a generation.

As one changes focus from the learner to the teacher, from the younger to the older, a sense of pattern begins to emerge from all the variables. A number of years ago I taught folklore at a state university in California, an area often settled down in by retirees. My students were all expected to do some fieldwork, and a regular semester assignment was to seek out and do a structured interview with someone over sixty-five. Over and over again my horrified students protested they did not know anyone over sixty-five; over and over I brutally replied, "They're all around; go make friends. Heck, you might even try talking to your grandfather!"

Such human treasures they found: a Van Nuys clockmaker who also made and repaired musical instruments and finally shyly admitted to being able to play the five-string banjo of his youth that now stood in a corner of his shop; a grandmother in Anaheim who, after her interview, went up into her attic and brought down her old guitar, an exquisite turn-of-the-century rosewood "lady's model" wrapped carefully in a long silk scarf (none of her grown children had ever known that their mother both played and sang; her fascinated grandson was her first audience in over fifty years); an Irish steelworker from the Midwest who brought his old Irish "elbow" pipes into retirement with him and soon developed a sort of human train of young musicians who followed him like a line of ducklings.

My students and I became able almost to graph the career lines of these artists. All of them had been exposed to their eventual art form in childhood, normally by "picking it up," watching fine musicians or artisans, absorbing the aesthetic criteria, getting the feel of what is good and what



Abraham Hunter shows grandson Stevie how to make a cornshuck mule collar
Photo by Roland Freeman

is better, becoming excited, trying out a skill, making mistakes, getting corrected. Some were universalists, attempting a bit of many crafts and styles; some fewer became entrapped early, one might almost say, in a single art form and made it their own speciality.

Childhood moved into young adulthood with increasing energies shown most frequently by the musicians and dancers (good for courtship, after all). But with marriage and growing family responsibilities, much of the artistic activity slacked off; a kind of general latency period set in and life became real and earnest and the “old ways” began to seem less beautiful and interesting. My files contain perhaps a hundred interviews containing one or more of the following statements: “I don’t know, I just stopped quilting (or fiddle playing or embroidery or any number of things) while the children were growing up. I was too tired, and we wanted so many things you had to buy, and the old things just got to seem too old-fashioned and corny. And then there wasn’t any time.”

But when people reached their fifties and sixties, many resumed their old art form like a second career with all the enthusiasm of teen-agers — and infinitely more knowledge and subtlety. We began almost to wonder whether the long middle period of inactivity was not so much a time of abandonment of the art as a time for lying fallow, for gathering together energies, ideas, creativity. Perhaps the older musicians and dancers could not jump so high nor move so quickly, but the smaller movements and the less frequent notes so often had the elegance and authority that comes only from mastery and from experience. And the morale — the enthusiasm of the old artists and artisans is death-defying. Carmen Maria Roman, who came to Cleveland in 1952 from Puerto Rico, and who has taken up again the art of embroidery she learned as a girl says: “I love it, oh boy! No more pills, no more nervous, I’m happy!” Sra. Roman works with her niece to produce traditional ornamental favors for weddings, christenings and baptisms — elegant creations of lace ribbons and embroidered flowers. They sometimes make as many as five hundred for a special occasion, and the artist remarks, “If you don’t have these at a wedding, it’s not really a wedding.” No wonder she is happy — she has resumed a vital role in her own culture, aided appropriately by a young relative.

Here we begin to see the life cycle of a single artist repeating and overlapping with the brand new oncoming second generation in a never-ending linked chain. Admittedly this is an idealized picture, but most diagrams or analytic schemes are just exactly that: representations of the knobbly, awkward and ungovernable reality. And a pattern, even though it may not exactly fit any single individual or situation, can still express an essential truth. What we see, over and over again, not just in the United States but around the world, is that the three generations that overlap in their individual lifetimes interact in the following pattern: the grandparents inspire and instruct the children while the adult parents work to support and protect both the young and the old, until such time as they themselves become the grandparents and their own children take up the middle year tasks and a new generation of young ones come along.

The late great anthropologist Margaret Mead was once asked at a public forum what was the most vital problem in the United States of the 1970s. Without pausing a beat, she said, “How to put the grandparents back into contact with the grandchildren.” It is dismally true that within the contemporary United States, at least, changing patterns of housing, employment,

and family structures have driven deep rifts into the vital communicative chain that has transmitted cultural values, skills and morale across the generations for millenia. It is a deeply troubling situation.

What can be done about all this? In connection with my job as a grants officer for an arts agency, I have often asked folk artists that I meet what they would really most like to be doing. A poignantly large number of the older ones say that what they would really like to do is teach young people. Over and over they say that they want to get into the schools, to work with the children, to be allowed to be in touch with the generation that has always been their special historical responsibility. Can this ever be arranged? Not everywhere, of course, nor with every senior citizen, many of whom announce forthrightly that they have done their bit for future generations and want to relax for awhile. But so very many artists — **especially**, it seems, the artists — really long for a genuine contact with the young.

Another observation that is crystal clear to any folklorist is that our older citizens are incomparable aesthetic **resources**. So much of the gerontological literature that I glance through basically treats the elderly as a problem and old age as a time of life when a burdensome series of special conditions have to be met. In folk arts, the elderly are, generally speaking, thought of as the solution, rather than the problem (or at least as *a* solution), and we worry about meeting their needs in order that they may continue to be productive and help us onward with their wisdom and experience and toughness and smarts. It is quite a different point of view, and I recommend it to all those who work with the elderly as a more respectful and considerate stance, and one that is always productive of cooperation and achievement.

Finally, I would like to suggest that the overall every-other-generational pattern that I refer to as “the chain” is an infinitely subtle and effective communicative pattern that provides both for continuity and for change in proportions that are balanced with extraordinary delicacy. We will neither remain mired in the past nor careen rudderless into the mysterious future if we can respectfully help maintain this age-old system of order. In it, both the old and the young have their appointed responsibilities, their traditional and crucial roles. (They may, of course, swap positions and often do; I know many radical grandparents and plenty of conservative children, but in general a certain balance tends to maintain.) Even in such mundane interactions as learning to make baking powder biscuits or how to tune a fiddle “Sebastopol” style, the leit-motifs of “Well, the way I always heard it” and “But why couldn’t it?” intertwine in a never-ending dance of give and take, stability and innovation. It is a great system, and I hate to see it weakening because half of the participants are in retirement villages and the other half have gone off to day camps.

Our traditional arts — the ways of magnifying and decorating our lives through which we express our sense of ourselves and our belongingness to our own special people — are the essential preserve of experienced and senior practitioners. They often appear simple, but a lifetime may be needed to get them just exactly right. And all this experience, all this devotion and skill turns to ashes, if the human chain is not in working order, if there is no one to pass the art on to.

Suggested reading

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Mead, Margaret. *Blackberry Winter*. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1972.

All of Life's a Stage: The Aesthetics of Life Review

by Mary Hufford

Mary Hufford is a Folklife Specialist for the American Folklife Center, Library of Congress. She worked with the Folk Artists-in-the Schools Program in New Jersey, and co-taught a course in Folklore, Culture and Aging at the University of Pennsylvania. She is currently a doctoral candidate in the Department of Folklore and Folklife Studies at the University of Pennsylvania.

Expressive Culture and Stages of Life

We think of growing up as something that happens in stages. The conventional stages of the human life cycle include infancy, childhood, adolescence, young adulthood, middle age, and old age. While in reality there are no strict boundaries between them, we celebrate the crossing of their imaginary borders in rituals like baby showers, christenings, bar mitzvahs, commencements, weddings, and retirement banquets. Within the stages marked by those borders, we become responsible for different parts of our culture – and our scripts and our audiences are modified as we grow.

If we think of folklife as a kind of embroidering on the chores of being – chores that are universal and inescapable, such as eating, raising children, seeking shelter, and moving about, we might examine the ways in which members of each stage of life approach the same set of chores differently. Consider a motor skill such as walking. Children **never** walk. They skip, run, dance, or diddle sideways to get where they are going. They master locomotion by playing with it. While old people cannot play with locomotion in that way, the task of walking about can be spruced up with an imaginatively wrought walking stick – something that may endure and become a reminder of the person who used it.

The material culture of children is ephemeral. Their art is a kind of salvage art that transforms materials of everyday life into paper airplanes, paper footballs, clothespin pistols, grassblade whistles, cootie catchers, Chinese jumpropes, skellies pucks and hopscotch boards. Their play-houses are not meant to last, built as they are of scraps borrowed from the real world of older people: sheets draped over chairs, books stacked on top of one another, discarded plywood, tarpaper and trees, or perhaps even a lilac bush. Sand and snow are also valid media. Thus their play might be seen as a rehearsal for roles they'll assume in later life. They invest their dwellings not with memories but with mimesis.

Among adults we find a kind of artistry that commences at some point in late mid life, often triggered by a life crisis, such as retirement, or the death of a loved one. For his medium as well for his content the older artist often reaches back into his youth and to the old people he knew then. A skill such as quilting, fiddling, canning or carving may be revived. That skill may have been acquired in youth under the tutelage of an older relative or neighbor and abandoned in the middle years when there was not time for such activities.

At first it may seem that the revived skill is simply a way to pass the time that has suddenly expanded. On closer inspection, however, we find two other needs being met: the need to interpret and integrate one's life and



Children often express facets of their present and future lives, temporarily recasting them, for example, in miniature townscapes of sand.
Photo by Sue Samuelson



"This is my husband in 1914 with his new horse and buggy. This is not a very good picture of my husband. He was a handsome man, but you can't do much with a needle and thread." Ethel Mohamed

the need to educate the new youth, to supply them with the skills and materials that they can unpack in their own elderly lives. Thus, in contrast to the ephemera of children, the creations of old people are made to endure. Their hobbies take an autobiographical bent, their task the performance of life review.

Life Review Projects

Autobiographies do not always take the form of books. Folk art exhibits are filled with life-review projects that comprise a kind of three-dimensional reminiscence for their makers, whereby the past bursts into tangible being.

Many of the artists whose works are exhibited and performed on the Mall this year exemplify the pattern described above. Although Ethel Wright Mohamed learned the art of embroidery early in life from her mother, she did not practice the craft in earnest until her husband died in 1965. After forty-one years of marriage she said she felt like a ship without a rudder. She began to feel a need to recapture and relive the memories of her married life, and the medium she chose was needlework. In her first "memory picture" she relived her wedding day.

Within a decade Ethel Mohamed produced ninety embroidered memory pictures – enough to stand for her autobiography. In them her past is bound to existence, a past represented not only by landmark events, such as the birth of a new baby, but scenes from everyday life, like her husband's bedtime story hours with the children. The images spring not only from her own remembered experiences but from the memories she received from her parents and grandparents. She imagines on fabric the wedding of her great-grandparents and the departure of her great-grandfather for the Civil War. Thus, not only is her personal past bound to existence in her needlework, but it is bound to the great historical events that comprise the national past.

In Chelsea, Vermont, in 1939, when Ina Hackett Grant was in her late fifties, she began to stitch together a memory quilt. Seven years later, the

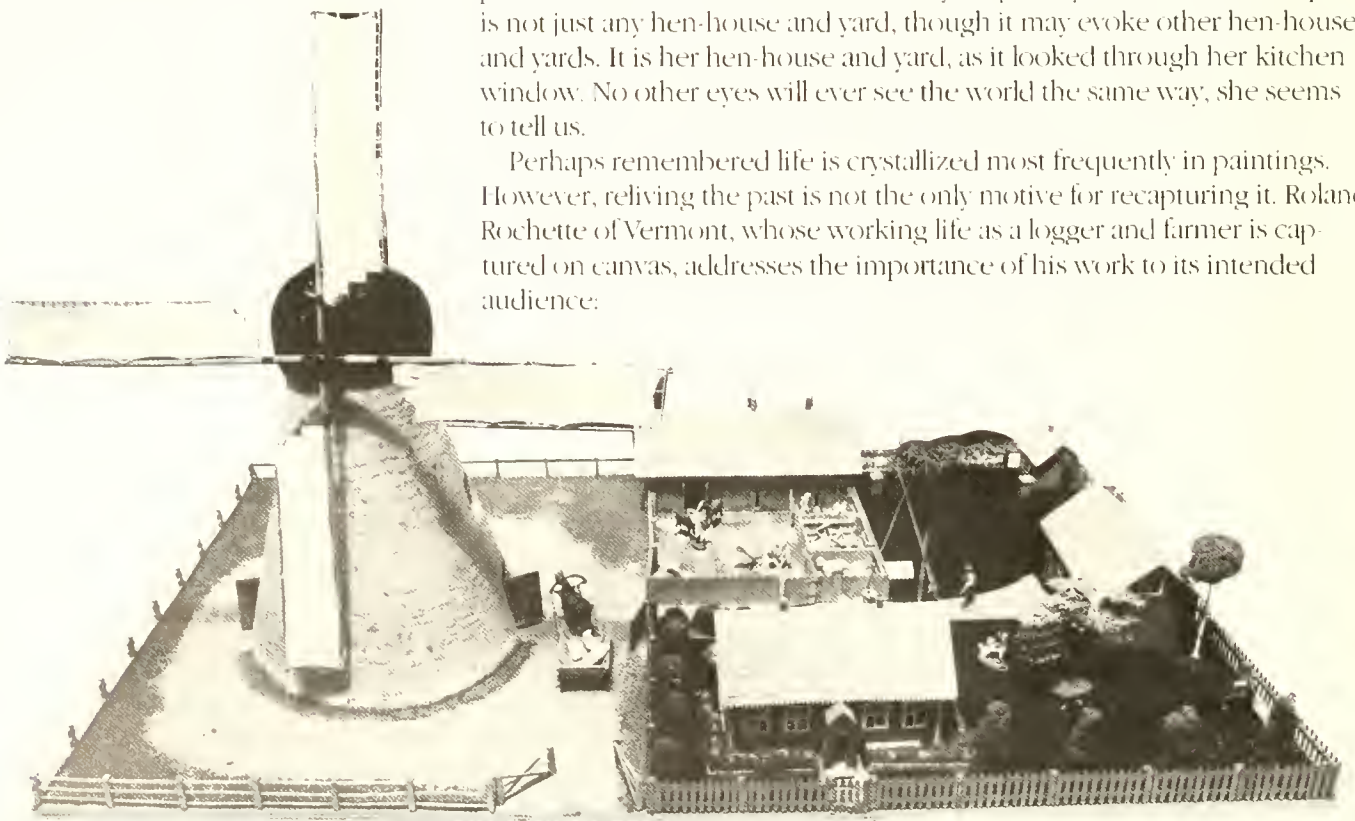
quilt, consisting of one-hundred and seventy-two decorated blocks, won the first prize at the Tunbridge World's Fair. On the blocks she depicted various farmhouses, each one distinguished as the site of an important event, such as the birth of a child. She also celebrated regional activities, such as maple sugaring, the use of horses in the now vanished farming technology of her childhood, her son's foxhound, and the United States flag.

We find another example in the art work of Elijah Pierce, the son of an ex-slave. Born near Baldwyn, Mississippi in 1892, when Pierce was nine years old his brother gave him a pocket knife and he has been carving wood ever since. As a preacher and a barber he became a central figure in his community. At some point in his mid-sixties while working in his barber shop he began a project that would take him twenty years to complete: an elaborate walking stick on which are carved scenes from his life. Like Ethel Mohamed's stitched autobiography, Pierce's carved past combines family history, Biblical references, life cycle events and images from everyday life – the tools of his trade, the cross with a halo, the funny story that a customer once told him – all rescued from miscellany and uniquely combined into one artistic statement that stands for his life.

From far-flung parts of the country, and from divergent cultures the variations on recurring themes emerge. However, while some of the themes may seem to echo those represented in popular nostalgia paintings (covered bridges, farmhouses, and pastoral scenes in general), it is important to recognize the profound difference underlying the two genres. While popular painting generalizes about the past, the life review project recreates specific experiences. In the former we see the elimination of detail in an effort to appeal to a wider audience; in the latter we see a passion for detail. The hen house and yard portrayed on Ina Grant's quilt is not just any hen-house and yard, though it may evoke other hen-houses and yards. It is her hen-house and yard, as it looked through her kitchen window. No other eyes will ever see the world the same way, she seems to tell us.

Perhaps remembered life is crystallized most frequently in paintings. However, reliving the past is not the only motive for recapturing it. Roland Rochette of Vermont, whose working life as a logger and farmer is captured on canvas, addresses the importance of his work to its intended audience:

80-year-old Vilnius Varakojis of Chicago, Illinois, reproduces a scene from his childhood in Lithuania in this model of a windmill village
Photo by Carl Fleischhauer



I like to do things that the younger generation haven't seen. I think it's kind of instructive for the younger people. Younger people, a lot of them, don't believe what the older people did and how hard they worked.

For elderly immigrants the removal from the homeland creates a gulf not only between themselves and the past, but between themselves and the future, as embodied in their children. Neng Vang, a member of our most recent immigrant group, the Hmong, speaks of the difficulty of bridging those twin chasms:

It is difficult for us since we are not Americans. We were not born here, we have migrated here. There is no good way for us [elders] to look to the future . . . the only way is through the young. It is the hope of all the heads of the families that the youngest sons and daughters will learn so that they will help us.

In his basement in Chicago, 80-year-old Vilnius Variakojis recreates in miniature models the scenes from his childhood village in Lithuania. His basement is regarded as a museum, often visited by Lithuanian children for whom their cultural history is twice encapsulated in his models. First, they depict a place that literally no longer exists as it is remembered, and second, through the models something of their parents' childhood is retrieved. The models, featuring the windmills typical of the region, serve to evoke the place in its absence. They sparkle with specificity. Describing Variakojis's work, Elena Bradunas writes:

The windmill model recreates one that stood near his family farm. He remembers swinging on the sails of the windmill with his childhood friend, the miller's son. The adjacent farmstead is his own: the family house, outdoor sauna, animal barn, granary sheds and outbuildings are constructed according to scale and arranged exactly as they once stood – even the flowerbeds, trees, and grandfather's bench under the birch.

The flowerbeds call to mind another form of folk art that is often ritualized among older people. In producing miniatures we can deliberately invoke, inspect and contemplate the multi-faceted past. In gardens the life-cycle itself is miniaturized, and the past evoked in unpredictable ways. A garden comprises entities with life cycles that recur each year. In experiencing a garden our senses are fully engaged. The repeated experience of a garden throughout our own life cycles is one way of achieving continuity with the self of other stages. The yearly cycle of a garden builds up a residue of associations with other stages in our own lives, bound as they are to seasons. Beyond this, in tending a garden we assist in the creation of a beauty that we can behold with pure pleasure. Tom Brown, a 73-year-old woodsman in South Jersey interweaves his garden with his mythology, in naming it Paradise Acres. Several years ago he planted the following poem at its center:

Here in my garden I spend many an hour
Planting my vegetables and my flowers
The Lord sends the sunshine and the showers
I harvest my vegetables, enjoy my flowers
Here I relax and rest and enjoy
Peace and Happiness

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Beck, Jane, ed. *Always in Season: Folk Art and Traditional Culture in Vermont* (exhibition catalogue). Montpelier, Vermont: Vermont Council on the Arts, 1982.

Dewhurst, C. Kurt and Marsha MacDowell. *Michigan Hmong Arts. Textiles in Transition* (exhibition catalogue). East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University, 1983.

Jones, Suzi, ed. *Webfoots and Bunchgrassers Folk Art of the Oregon Country* (exhibition catalogue). Eugene, Oregon: Oregon Arts Commission, 1980.



Plaque by Tom Brown, 73 years old, of Millville, New Jersey, showing his magnum opus to be his garden.

Photo by Joseph Czarnacki

Life Not Death in Venice: The Transmission of an Endangered Tradition by Barbara Myerhoff

Barbara Myerhoff has been Professor of Anthropology at the University of Southern California since 1968. She directed the "Life Not Death in Venice" project in 1980, and conducted the fieldwork for the film Number Our Days.

The "Life Not Death in Venice" project was produced and coordinated by Mr. Vikram Javanti, and sponsored by the Center for Visual Anthropology of the University of Southern California. Department of Anthropology, Professors Alexander Moore and Timothy Asch, Department Chair and Center Director.

In 1971 I began an anthropological study of "Ethnicity and Aging," part of a larger project entitled "Social Contexts of Aging." Funded in part by the National Science Foundation it concentrated on a community of very old immigrant Jews from Eastern Europe, the focus of whose social life was the Israel Levin Senior Adult Center in Venice, California. Throughout my work there a singular and dominant theme was apparent: the invisibility of older people in today's society.

Among very old people, deprived of natural intergenerational continuity and unable to transmit their ethnic culture or personal histories to their progeny, the problem of social inattention is especially serious. It became clear to me working among these elders that they were intent on presenting themselves to the world, being noticed, interpreting the meaning of their history and culture to a wider outside world that would remember them after they had died, and possibly transmitting something of their lives to younger people. Many of their struggles were intractable, but their invisibility was not inevitable. Over time, the old people taught me to see them in their own terms, and it grew evident that they appreciated every attempt that anyone made to depict and convey their folklore and histories to the outside world. Above all, they craved audiences for, without attention, they and their culture faced oblivion. In every way they could, they tried to capture witnesses, so over time, I began to make additional efforts to enhance their visibility, to outsiders as well as to themselves.

I had long known that these elderly Eastern European immigrants were naturally self-dramatizing, introspective, and eager to find ways to transmit their knowledge and experience to younger people and outsiders. Acutely aware of themselves as bearers of a dying culture — the world of *Yiddishkeit* — they felt a mission to pass on their immediate memories and perceptions. They were known for their verbal portraits of their lives and were consummate storytellers, steeped in the oral tradition of Hassidism and Talmudic debate. Gradually, I discovered that a great many of them were also visual artists, completely self-taught, having overcome the religious tradition which forbade portraiture and depiction of images. They were painters, carvers, sculptors, draftsmen, as well as tailors, weavers and tinsmiths. They talked about and brought in paintings and art objects they had made. One of their most intriguing works was an immense mural they had completed along the entire wall of the Israel Levin Center: a collective portrait of their history, from the Eastern European *shtetls* (towns) of their childhood, through their middle years spent in the east-

ern cities of America, to their final destination as elders in Venice, California. Within the portrait was a set of “empty” figures, merely outlined, which I had assumed were simply unfinished. Then I was told that they were “ghosts” meant to indicate that they were still growing, because “No matter how old you are, you are always changing as long as you are alive.” Their work was not at all self-evident, despite its seeming simplicity and rough technique. They were portraying a vanished world and a personally-felt vision.

During this period, students in my Life History class at the University of Southern California were directing their semester’s work towards locating elderly artists and storytellers and documenting their lives. The young people gathered the elders’ life histories and at the same time trained them to interpret their art and experiences to the unfamiliar audience of outsiders that we hoped would attend an exhibit we were planning. The search was not too difficult; local teachers in senior citizens centers and classes were able to identify seventeen people between the ages of 60 and 92, all of Eastern European background. With one exception all of them were self-taught and non-professional. The more than one hundred art pieces gathered and displayed represented a great range of styles and media, but all depicted some of the commonalities of the culture of Eastern European Jewish life, in the Old World and in America.

In spring 1980 we held a series of all day workshops at the University of Southern California, devoted to traditional storytelling, intergenerational journal work and intergenerational dramatic improvisation. Young and old people enrolled, as well as some volunteers and relatives and friends of the artists; others joining were university students interested in art, anthropology, history, Jewish studies and social work.

The second phase of the project was a folklife celebration – a series of weekly performances designed to accompany and interpret the art work. It was a strategy to gain a captive audience of people who would not ordinarily pay attention to the artists or folk art of the kind we had assembled and displayed. The events consisted of presentations by well-known scholars, artists and performers whose interpretations were drawn from the original Yiddish sources portrayed by the elderly folk artists. These expressions were transformations of indigenous Yiddish themes, portrayed in films, stories, readings, concerts, lectures and plays, and, as such, were readily available to audiences unfamiliar with the *shtetl* tradition. The folk art exhibit and the cultural events juxtaposed origins and



In June, 1927, a member of the Israel Levin Senior Adult Center was struck by a bicyclist on the boardwalk. The elders organized a protest march down the boardwalk bearing placards saying “Life Not Death in Venice.” The protest, a victory for the elders’ visibility, grew out of their increased knowledge of themselves as vital members of society and their insistence on being recognized by an unconscious world. Photo by Nick Myerhoff, age 11

Suggested reading

de Beauvoir, Simone. *The Coming of Age*. New York: Warner Paperback Library, 1973.

Myerhoff, Barbara. *Number Our Days*. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1978.

Zeitlin, Steven, Amy Kotkin and Holly Cutting Baker. *A Celebration of American Family Folklore*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.

Suggested film

Number Our Days, by Lynne Littman. 30 min. color sound. Direct Cinema Limited, P.O. Box 69589, Los Angeles, California 90069.

interpretations, actual historical experiences of the elderly, and the assimilated and imaginative versions of those experiences by people who had directly lived them, briefly as children, or indirectly, through their parents' and grandparents' memories and stories. The performances were wide-ranging and eclectic, showing the immense richness and variety distilled from the Yiddish heritage. Abba Eban opened the art exhibit. Isaac Beshavis Singer told stories of his family life in pre-Holocaust Poland; Lee Strassberg reminisced about the *klezmer* music of his childhood; Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett showed home movies of Poland between the wars; Jerome Rothenberg read poetry from his anthology, *A Big Jewish Book*; "Mickey Katz and His Octogenarians" offered Catskill and vaudeville music together with American humor and music; the Traveling Jewish Theater performed stories of the Hassidic master, Reb Nachman of Bratzlav; Tillie Olsen read "Tell Me a Riddle," her novella about an aging, dying couple in Venice, Georgie Jessel and Baruch Lumet each gave comic and dramatic readings in English and Yiddish. The Israel Levin Senior Adult Chorus opened and closed the series.

Audiences were large, enthusiastic and diverse. Many were composed of young people, astonished at finding themselves for the first time amidst so many old people. "I never dreamt they had so much energy!" was a commonly heard remark. "Where have they been hiding all this art work?" was often heard. "Grandma, you never told me you could draw!" "You never asked," was the reply. The exhibit was full of discovery and surprise.

The experience showed clearly that there are elderly people all over America, waiting only to be asked about their stories and folk art. Their memories and works are stored in boxes in cellars, in trunks, in attics; their poems are locked in drawers, needing only a witness to bring them to light, a recipient to complete the interchange that is requisite to all cultural transmission.

In our time we have come to realize that the concept of "image" is not a shallow or trivial affair. Images are the coinage by which we are known and valued by the world, and ultimately they are internalized; as such they become the basis for self-evaluation. Appearance becomes "reality" and non-appearance may be oblivion. Teaching disdained people how to control their images, how to shape a view of themselves and their culture, despite often contradictory images presented from the outside, gives them power and the means for self-determination. We have come increasingly to accept our multicultural, diversified world as richer than the once idealized homogeneous "melting pot." We deepen the total culture as well as the members of ignored groups when we aid them in "being themselves," publicly and powerfully.

Folk art is a means not only of communication across generations but at the same time assisting the elderly gain autonomy over their own images. By arranging for elders to present their own artistic works and interpretations of their culture in a context in which they see themselves as major figures, their self-worth and political empowerment are enhanced.

The "Life Not Death in Venice" project can serve as a model for utilizing the resources of the elderly, heightening our general awareness of them as contributors to the life of a community, and calling attention to the riches they provide in their role as repositories of history and vanished cultures. We must create such occasions, when young and old are brought together, to face each other in the giving and receiving of lives and lore.

Black American Urban Culture

by Bernice Reagon

Black America began its move to the city because of a driving and desperate need for change. When rural southern communities, for all their fresh air and land, still remained too much a choking, binding, stagnating experience because of racism, economic, social, and political repressions, some people had to leave. Leaving meant many times leaving an extended family, a community, institutions and friends to go to an unknown area with few contacts and few concrete promises. The promise of the city was that it was there. It had an openness and pace that did not exist in small farm-based communities. The promise was that one could test one's abilities in uncharted and untried territory. There was a pioneering thrust to the expanding Black neighborhoods. Initially there was no space to accommodate the numbers; community boundaries were extended block by block, street by street — many times in conflict with other ethnic groups who had come to the city looking for the same thing.

When Charles Albert Tindley left the eastern shore of Maryland for Philadelphia during the 1870s, it was for the rest of his life — a portion that could not come to him had he stayed in Berlin, Maryland. There he had been hired out; he had been forced to learn to read in secret; he had also been deeply loved by his family and was part of the rich Black Methodist community. Here was a spirit that wanted more than Berlin, Maryland, could offer. He needed open country, so he moved to town. As many before and after him, when he moved to Philadelphia, it was into the home of his mother's sister, who had already migrated there. Like many before and after her, the first families to settle became a beacon for the generation that followed.

And yet Tindley did not leave Berlin in many ways. He selectively chose to hold on to long cherished ways of caring and nurturing and building community. Using the same cultural principles and the new challenges and opportunities, he sought to build a new Black community through his church ministry in Philadelphia.

The culture of Black urban America reveals much about the developing new communities. Its range goes far beyond the current street corner and dope pushers, and broken glass, and bread lines, and unemployed young men and crime, and hostility, and smoldering anger. All of this is present — but only as a part of a larger, more complex and dynamic cultural arena, created by a people making its way in a new land.

The rhythm and flavor of Black American urban community life takes one in many directions. The church is a good place to begin, for it served as the first community for the newly arrived family. Many urban churches have memberships based on rural congregations. People from eastern shore, Maryland, especially around Berlin, moved into South Philadelphia and into the church that became Tindley Temple United Methodist under Tindley's leadership. In New York, eastern shore communities moved to Salem United Methodist in Harlem. In Washington and New York, there is

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New Gospel Light Music Store
Photo by Roland Freeman

a Southern Baptist Church. In D.C., the congregation has a South Carolina base. Many Chicago Black churches, especially Baptist, are shaped by members arriving from Mississippi. And this goes on, for Black migration patterns follow well-traveled corridors. People from the rural areas leave their people and move to urban areas with other branches of their family; thus, over time, entire communities are transplanted.

The Black urban church at its best is the place where the raw edges of change are softened, where old flavors from home are not discarded, but blend in comforting ways in a new urban gospel pot. There you can find the elders of Black sacred songs and prayers, still held by those who only left behind those things that would hold you down, while bringing along all a body or soul would need to stay together. One can go to the Southern Baptist Church in Washington, D.C., and still find a strong traditional unaccompanied song service led by elders who hold the old rich pattern of singing a phrase of song before going down in prayer. An opening devotional service might have as many as ten prayers. Some of the prayers start with the Twenty-Third Psalm, others with the Lord's Prayer. Both patterns are traceable to regional church traditions in southern communities.

Urban churches range from major edifices, like Tindley Temple in Philadelphia that seats 3,000 and Wheat Street Baptist in Atlanta, Bible Way Temple in Washington, to Abyssinian in Harlem, to Mt. Pisner Baptist in Chicago, to storefronts. Here one finds people in worship giving up cultural ideas of a building and creating a worship space in whatever space is available. Inside one usually finds the old patterns with amen corners and general congregational seating laid out, as well as pulpit and choir areas if there is one. These congregations start with small numbers, as few as five or six, and the successful ones grow to larger congregations. In certain cases small congregations are maintained because of the desire for intimate family related worship.

In many churches, devotional services led by the elders with their old songs in the old traditions have been supplanted by the sounds of gospel songs accompanied by electronic organs or instrumental combos. The

new songs shake the rafters, with tambourines, drums, horns and pentecostal shouts — new songs written by new songwriters for a people in a new time, and a new place.

The new songs, called gospel, were the musical expression of a people moving to the city. From Charles Albert Tindley came “Stand By Me.” Lucy Elizabeth Campbell composed “Something Within.” Thomas Dorsey composed “Move On Up A Little Higher.” They were printed and sold and recorded, and they entered the people’s oral tradition through these phonograph recordings and the radio. This new urban music became national in scope, found in congregations throughout the Black community, city and country, small and large.

Going out to a “singing” is another urban-based activity which takes place in churches, schools, auditoriums. “Singings” are programs of gospel music, with anywhere from two or three to ten groups doing a few numbers each. The evening is opened by a minister and many times ends with the doors of the church being opened. It is the Christian social cultural event.

Today, one finds gospel music in congregations throughout the community regardless of denomination: Baptist, Methodist, Catholic and Episcopal. Its repertoire has also become a staple of high school choruses, and the formation of gospel choirs on all university campuses is both a social, cultural and political issue. Beginning with the Howard University Gospel Choir during the late 1960s, gospel music advocates demanded a recognized space for it in the American sacred music tradition alongside the European-based classical repertoire.

Then there is the home; the row house, the apartment with children who have keys; where the food is still pig feet and collard greens and stewed corn and tomatoes and okra — bought fresh or frozen or sometimes even grown in the garden out back — if there is a back, or down the street if there are community plots this year. Life changes — work is wherever it can be found — so home is sometimes where we sit in the evenings and on weekends. And if you are lucky, even though grandmama is “down home,” she is also the warm, soft, wise, old lady across the hall, around the corner, down the street, who serves just in the needed times. She has her home remedies, and she listens, and her eyes have watched the streets and can tell you how they can be the way to where you want to be, or what to do so you do not get stuck there.

The street has no fields, no wide spacious yards — many front porches are stoops on the sidewalk. People sit outside in the evening when the sun goes down, after work. Children play on the sidewalk. The yards once used for play are now for decoration and hold flowers brought up from the South. The games change. “Here goes Miss Lilly” and “Green Green Rocky Road” and jump rope move over and give way to “double-dutch” chants that pick up the latest topics on the block. The “double-dutch” that young girls do is a part of their socialization — girls learn to grow up into a community of womanhood on the sidewalk as well. Street cheers — a community-based extension of cheerleading — are today’s most prolific recreational activity for young females. The language of school-based cheerleading is controlled and overseen by adults, that of street cheers is not. Here language is a reflection of young girls’ moving into womanhood through a ritual of puberty, exploring a full range of social and cultural ideas — work, sex, careers, dreams and fantasies.

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For young males the street is for moving in gangs. Organized activities are football, band, drill squads. However, street gangs are without adult supervision, and activity ranges from groups that work daily on music in teenage bands to roamers — groups of young men who walk around looking for action of almost any kind.

The street also has its music, in the form of “do-wops” and “rap” groups. The music of the street became the basis of the music of the “show,” with the best discoveries forming “the top 20” (once race-based, now crossover record sales charts), with musicians like Stevie Wonder, La Belle, Donna Summer and Michael Jackson. Blues of the country fields and small town jukejoints became Chicago urban blues, R and B, soul, and funk. Reflections of evolving patterns of socialization, this Black American popular music is an integral part of the rites of passage of young Black teenagers moving into adulthood. That it comes to most of its listeners through a commercial entertainment industry does not obscure the fact that it is also street based culture. And when the industry runs dry, as it did with disco, it goes back to the streets and packages the latest new song form, in this case “rap.” With the development of rappers, block bands, and dance groups, the street and sidewalk performance spaces are also basements, park festivals, recreational centers and street stages. With the advent of “breaking,” Black social dance is being redefined in every way. Change in form, motion, function and players propel Black dance forward into a new time and space, while at the same time echoing age old practices of African based rituals.

The street as passageway gets its strongest cultural symbol from marches and parades; from high school bands, the followers of Marcus Garvey, to those of Daddy Grace, to Caravans of the next Black politician campaigning for the next highest office. It has its picket signs and protest demonstrators. It also has its vendors, on trucks and cars, and on street sidewalks: selling melons, greens, potatoes and onions, roasted peanuts, mangoes, jewelry, earrings, posters and buttons. If you need it or want it, you can find it in the street markets.

As in any pioneering effort, there is the cost. Moving into spaces where there are no spaces always results in broken and waylaid lives on broken street corners, with no jobs, schools with too few Black teachers in charge who hold and cherish an aesthetic that is dynamic and Black.

This sidewalk and street culture in its place is like the street — it is supposed to be a place to somewhere else. Something you use to get where you want to go. It is also the place where people get lost.

The presence today of Blacks at the head of American cities is a signal of progress in the continuing transformation of the Black American presence in America. Black urban culture is no longer the art of moving into a few blocks or finding a relative to show a new arrival the ropes. Today urban areas are in many instances new Black communities with political power to name leadership and elder positions. Black American urban culture continues to reflect a community still being born, still in transition, still working out the problems faced by a people once secure in extended families on rural land settlements, then moving in search of a new kind of security, where family, home, church, party, street and community may be formed far beyond blood lines. The culture of American cities echoes the fact that urban America is also Black urban America, a powerful, rich, evolving source of cultural life and creativity.

Street Dancing, “Rapping” and DJ Mixing: Traditional African-American Performance and Contemporary Urban Culture

by LeeEllen Friedland

LeeEllen Friedland has researched the history of folk and vernacular dance styles in the United States since 1975, and has focused on street dancers in Philadelphia since 1980. She is currently a doctoral candidate in Folklore and Folklife at the University of Pennsylvania.

In the last year there has been an explosion of mass media attention to some new and exciting performing arts. “Break dancers” have made their way into mainstream American consciousness via major motion pictures and television appearances. Rhythmic dance songs on the radio feature clever poetic “raps” about the trials of urban life or the joys of dancing. And the “funky” dance music played in clubs and discos, heard on radio, and seen on television musical variety shows includes a new type of instrumentalist: the disc jockey, or DJ, who plays a barrage of electronic turntables, mixers, and special effect synthesizers with the finesse of a symphonic percussionist.

As these performing arts attain widespread popularity, the initial media images of tough minority youths leading the urban avant-garde are being transformed into an all-American craze of national proportions. Youths of every cultural background are trying to spin on their heads, while tapes of DJ mixing, such as “scratching,” play in the background. But at the same time, the abundant exposure in the media has not revealed the extent to which these popular performing arts have developed from, and are continually enriched by, cultural and community traditions.

In different ways, street dancing, verbal rapping, and DJ mixing on the airwaves have all developed from the traditional forms and aesthetics of African-American artistic performance. Street dancing, for example, has a long and venerable history in African-American culture. Whether this dancing is actually performed on the street is not as important as the fact that it is exhibition dancing, performed by dancers who cultivate a specialized repertoire and set of skills. In contemporary urban black communities this exhibition dancing is a vital part of children’s and adolescent culture. Younger children learn from older children, teenagers teach toddlers. Often the teaching networks progress along family lines, though it is also common for neighborhood acquaintances to develop an apprentice relationship. Street dancing is easily intermixed with other sorts of play activity, and playgrounds and street corners frequently become impromptu sites for “jamming,” when youths will take turns dancing in friendly competition. Sometimes a “jam” will evolve into an informal teaching session, as dancers exchange new steps and practice complicated moves and variations.

The exhibition dancing repertoire is extensive and fluid, and falls generally into three major categories: 1) fast stepping; 2) mimicry; and 3) acrobatics. Fast stepping is very important in the African-American dance



Disco Queens and Kings performing a GQ sequence
Photo by Roland Freeman

tradition, and includes both soft-shoe and tap dance styles. Historically, these vernacular fast stepping styles have had a tremendous influence on dance in American popular entertainment, but community innovation has always continued alongside theatrical development. Soft-shoe stepping, known in some areas as "GQ," features flashy stepping patterns that are punctuated with quick turns and flips. Two dancers often work out routines in which they coordinate stepping sequences with clever gestures, dramatic expressions, or partner related kicks and slides. Tap dancing, while not as common in the repertoire of today's young street dancers, is still considered an impressive artistic endeavor where certain young dancers have adopted it as their specialty. There are fewer older tap dancers in Black communities today than there were a generation ago to tutor these young tappers. There are cases, however, where the generation gap has been bridged and the step fundamentals and tapping rhythms have been continued in the traditional dance repertoire.

The second type of exhibition dancing, exemplified by "the pop" or "popping," employs mimicry. All of the several different styles of popping involve some sort of imitation, parody, or exaggeration of body movements. In one of the most distinctive styles the performer moves the body with robot-like segmentation, while executing simple tasks like bending, turning or walking in a mechanical rhythm. Another common style of popping is sometimes called "electric boogie," to describe a pulse rippling through the body with a wave-like effect, and "moon walking," in which a dancer glides backwards while the feet seem to step forward in a stylized way.

The third major type involves some sort of acrobatics, such as flips and tumbling which are injected into stepping sequences. Additionally, there are two important acrobatic forms that are considered quite difficult to perform but artistically satisfying when well executed. One of these, "ground stepping" or "floor floating," refers to various movements performed while the dancer hovers just above the ground (or the floor), balancing all the body weight only on the hands. In one move, called "the sweep," the dancer swings the legs around in a full circle, shifting the body's weight from hand to hand as the legs sweep under them. Another ground stepping move is "the helicopter," in which the dancer balances as if in a handstand, but then kicks and twists both legs up in the air in flashy, yet graceful maneuvers.

The second acrobatic form consists of different types of spins performed using some part of the body as the fulcrum. These spins are the distinctive element in what has come to be known as "break dancing" or "breaking." A break dancing sequence generally begins with a few rudimentary steps, followed by a descent to the ground where the dancer spins on the back, head, knee, hand, or torso. Variations of the sweep and other ground stepping moves are sometimes used in break dancing in order to help build momentum for a spin. Break dancing has been highlighted by the media, albeit out of proportion to its relative importance as a form in the traditional performance repertoire. Although an exciting and difficult acrobatic form of street dancing, it is fairly limited when compared to fast stepping or the pop.

Verbal arts are also a highly respected and important type of artistic performance in African-American communities. The traditional repertoire includes a number of forms, such as verbal insults — known variously as

“the dozens,” “sounding,” “signifying” – poetic “rhyming,” and narrative “toasts.” The rapping that is interspersed with the broadcast of funk and disco music has evolved from these traditional verbal arts and incorporated some musical elements as well. Disco rapping generally uses rhyming patterns, and the content usually describes a scene, tells a story, or comments on some current state of affairs. For example, a rapper will often begin by introducing himself by his “disco name” (nickname) and proceed to brag about his excellence or some exploit for which he considers himself famous, progressing thereafter to more descriptive topics, which often center around music and dancing or urban life. The content of a rap and the verbal style with which thoughts are expressed are quite important, and listeners attend carefully to all the words. A good rapper will incorporate clever turns of phrase and quote from well known songs and familiar expressions in the attempt to catch the listener’s ear. Though there is improvisation in rapping, material is composed in parts ahead of time. In fact, segments which prove successful are commonly written down by a rapper and saved to complete a longer piece. In performance, a rapper will draw on his or her stock of composed poetic segments as well as the traditional repertoire of formulaic fillers, rhymes, and responsorial chants.

In addition to its verbal artistry, rapping is also important as a part of musical performance. The recitation style used for rapping is highly inflected, although never considered to be actual singing. The musical significance of rapping lies more in its rhythmic patterns which provide a contrapuntal embellishment to the recorded rhythm track playing continuously in the background.

Music is the inspiration for rapping and dancing, and a successful dance event requires the services of a disc jockey and an electronic sound system. In addition to speakers, amplifier, and a record collection, DJs surround themselves with an orchestra of electronic equipment, including two turntables, a mixer, headphones, echo box, and whatever type of synthesizer is affordable. Much more than merely shuffling commercial recordings back and forth, the DJ is a master performer on the “wheels of steel” (turntables), and thus considered a creative musician. The musical performance arises from his “mixing,” which includes playing discs, creating new non-recorded sounds, and integrating the varied sound output. There are several techniques of mixing: one, called “scratching” or “cutting,” involves the controlling of the mechanical revolutions of the turntables with a finger, so that the sound of the recording is distorted in some way to produce different rhythmic patterns. Non-electronic percussion playing, such as drumming or tap dancing, can be used to add another rhythmic layer to the music. Rapping completes the aesthetic picture with poetry.

The street dancing and rapping that is performed by urban Black youths today demonstrates how traditional African-American performing arts continue to evolve and influence mainstream popular entertainment. The role of traditional musician and percussion playing has been inherited by the DJ, who has adapted modern audio technology to a creative endeavor and transformed its formerly passive use into an active artistic pursuit based on traditional aesthetics.

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Mega mix, by Herbie Hancock. Columbia Records 44-04960.

The Message, by Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five. Sugarhill Records SH 268.

Pumpin’ It Up, by P. Funk All-Stars. CBS Records 42904981.

Black Philadelphia

A Photo Essay by Roland Freeman



South Side Market



Benjamin Francis



Roland Freeman is a documentary photographer conducting ongoing research in Black culture throughout the African Diaspora. Since 1972, he has been a field research photographer for the Smithsonian's Festival of American Folklife; he is presently Photographer in Residence and Research Associate with the Institute for the Arts and Humanities, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

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(Both books distributed by the author, 117 Ingraham Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001)

Nathaniel Thompson



Groove Phi Groove

Foodways in a Festival Setting

by Charles Camp

Charles Camp is employed by the Maryland State Arts Council, where he holds the position of State Folklorist. He has worked in various capacities on eight Festivals of American Folklife.

In 1971, when I first became involved in the Festival of American Folklife as a fieldworker assigned to identify craftspeople for the presentation of traditions from my native Ohio, I recommended that a man from East Canton named Virgil Miller be invited to demonstrate the process of apple cider-making on the Mall. I can admit now that I recommended Mr. Miller as a potential Festival participant almost as an afterthought; having failed to identify as many craftspeople as I had planned, I hoped that cider-making might by some stretch of the term “craft” be considered along with my other recommendations. When Mr. Miller was invited to participate I was happy for him but privately concerned that, among practitioners of more widely recognized and respected Ohio traditions (rug weavers, basket makers, gunsmiths, and the like), Mr. Miller’s demonstration of cider-making would appear so unremarkable that few Festival visitors would pause to observe him at work.

As it turned out, my fears were unfounded. Not only did large crowds gather around the cider press Mr. Miller had trucked from Ohio, but the very thing I had considered to be the demonstration’s weakest point — the utter familiarity of the foodstuff (apples) and the processed product (cider) — proved to be its greatest strength. Knowing at a glance what it was that Mr. Miller was doing gave his audience an opportunity to focus upon the cultural characteristics of his work — the occupational skills which had been passed down to him within his family, the differences between cider-making (and cider itself) in Ohio and other parts of the country, and the mixed blessings of operating a small family business whose fortunes were dependent upon such undependable things as sun, rain, and frost.

Much of what was valid for the presentation of Virgil Miller at the 1971 Festival is also true for the study and presentation of American foodways in general. Few aspects of our cultural life are more broadly expressive of ethnic, regional, occupational, or age-group identities than foodways, yet food is seldom the symbol of first choice in characterizing a particular culture group. If, as Festival founder Ralph Rinzler observed in 1971, the preparation of food is frequently the most persistent of cultural traits among the descendants of immigrants, lasting long after language, song, dance, and ritual have been eradicated or diluted, then foodways is predictably the folklife subject of last resort, attracting scholarly attention only after the loss of other traditions have left food as an isolate of identity, the cultural core most resistant to change.¹

The notion that folklife represents both the most artistic and the most highly endangered traditions within a community lends justification to the continued documentation of forms of expression which may no longer be commonly practiced, such as ballad singing, observance of secular rituals like mumming or may day, or the making of stained-glass windows. Still, this view tends to overshadow the truly traditional charac-

¹Ralph Rinzler, “Bagel Making in Ohio,” *Festival of American Folklife 1971* (program book), p. 8.



Meat cutters and butchers demonstrate their occupational skills to visitors at the 1971 Festival of American Folklife.

ter of most aspects of foodways and the degree to which food serves American communities as an abidingly useful social instrument and symbol. Virtually every step in the path which links field to market to kitchen to dinner table is marked by tradition, from the observance of lunar signs in the planting of a corn crop to the hollers of street vendors; from the composition of a Cajun gumbo to the carving of a Thanksgiving turkey or the apportionment of a wedding cake. And, unlike many other forms of cultural expression which are profoundly changed by the intervention of institutions bent on the "improvement" of community life, foodways are most often sheltered from rapid change by the intimacy of their acquisition and transmission: the food preferences we acquire as children eating at the family table are sustained and extended through the informal apprenticeships of daughters to mothers and sons to fathers. Few cooks can recall when it was that they learned how to make gravy or when to pick a vine-ripened melon because the process of learning such things is so closely bound to the process of growing up. The lessons are communicated within a setting of reassuring familiarity — the small tasks and practiced measurements — which consistently produce predictably delicious results.

But while cookery is the culinary focus of foodways, it is the range of occasions when people sit down to eat together which provides the sharpest view of food's cultural utility. From a family's Sunday dinner to a community oyster-and-ham supper, food events provide the basis for the comparison of ethnic and other variety in community life because such

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Ethnic and regional culinary traits are transmitted through the preparation of tortillas during a food demonstration at the 1975 Festival of American Folklife.

events embody and express roles and relationships among the people involved as well as specific individual tastes and preferences. The division of labor for a family reunion picnic, for example, is a delicate task which draws upon varied sorts of familial information: who may be depended upon to make arrangements for the rental of a park shelter, how best to accord due respect to older family members without overburdening them with the day's labors, honoring the specialties of a dozen cooks without producing a table offering two kinds of macaroni salad and ten fancy desserts.

If the consumption of special meals may define an important social occasion, then individual foods may serve as symbols with meanings beyond their culinary merits. Eastern European *pysanki* (elaborately decorated Easter eggs) refer back to the imagery of nature and of food for their spiritual message, yet in their decoration the eggs become objects which can no longer be considered edible. Virtually every culture group in America produces (and consumes) some sort of bread, and the differences between Greek *pita* and Jewish *challah* cannot be accurately measured in a comparison of their ingredients. The uses of these and other foods provide the keys to our understanding of them as part of a cultural as well as a culinary tradition. The act of breaking bread has an almost universal meaning as a sign of sharing, but in foodways the proximity of the ordinary and the symbolic is uncommonly evident: at the same time that a shared meal may symbolize togetherness, the act of eating from the same pot enacts togetherness.

As a generally intimate, if ordinary enterprise, the preparation and consumption of food is not easily presented at an event like the Festival of American Folklife. For cooks who come to the Mall to demonstrate the cookery traditions characteristic of the place or ethnic community from which they come there is much concern that what has been learned during a lifetime of familiarity may not be so easily communicated in a few words to Festival audiences. The task of planning two weeks worth of Festival presentation — the estimate of ingredients, description of necessary equipment, and selection of the foods or processes which best communicate the traditions the participant personifies — is both foreign and considerable. But from its beginnings more than fifteen years ago, the Festival has used the familiar as well as the rare in American folk culture to inform its audiences about the subtle, human sources of that culture's abiding strength. The presentation of foodways at the Festival serves not only to broaden the definition of folklife that visitors bring to the event, but also to identify the fundamentally traditional character of the varied ways in which Americans prepare and use foods to serve their cultural as well as nutritional purposes.

Continuity and Tradition in Foodways

by Joan Nathan

By the time Pablo Picasso was in his nineties he was able to dash off pen and ink drawings and produce large canvases without the careful thought of a young artist starting out. So it is with traditional culinary artists – cooks who have been spinning off strudels, fruit leathers, pot pies, biscuits, and even fish stews their whole life through. By the time a cook reaches fifty, sixty or seventy he or she is no longer bound by exact measurements and feels comfortable about adding merely a handful of this or a dash of that. Similarly, instinct tells the cook that the feel of the dough is just right. Consequently, rather than reading written directions passed down from one generation to another, it is easier for a young child simply to watch a grandparent or a parent stretching the strudel, ladeling out grape juice to harden into fruit leather, or rolling out puff pastry to envelope chicken.

Through repeated observation one generation learns from another. Somehow grown-ups do not have the time to watch grandparents, but young children do. In fact, before the advent of television, it was the customary afternoon activity to watch grandparents who lived with families do the cooking, the carpentry, and the sewing. Even while their hands were so occupied, familial tales could be transferred from one generation to another.

Cooking links generations, it binds families, it continues traditions. Although it is more difficult in the United States today, where families live separately and distances between them are greater than in the old country, or where migratory patterns have sometimes totally uprooted families and their traditions, it is still possible for two generations to spend leisure time linking up during vacations, long visits, or other set aside hours.

At this year's Festival we are stressing continuity and tradition in food ways. Rose Avadonian comes from a time-honored Armenian tradition where the grape and its leaf are the center of cultural and culinary customs. A function without stuffed grape leaves (*yalamchi*) or fruit leathers (*basdek*) is no function. Not only does Mrs. Avadonian teach Armenian cooking in her native Watertown, Massachusetts, but she has also always let her children observe her culinary activities. Aline Garrett of St. Martinville, Louisiana, learned to make puff pastry from a local French woman. Her pot pies, which she sells for \$2.50 apiece, have financed her children's education through college. Duncan Hukill of Skagway, Alaska, once the cook of a local restaurant, is his town's sourdough starter expert. His sourdough pancakes and his wife's sourdough bread and cakes are known throughout the area. His daughter and son-in-law are now using his 100-year-old starter to continue the tradition. And Pat and Bill Carson of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, love to cook the greens, biscuits, and sweet potato pies that they learned to make from their mothers and their aunt Arlena Davis, all of whom continue the culinary custom started in North Carolina, but now transferred to Philadelphia.

Joan Nathan is a contributor to the Washington Post Magazine, and author of the Jewish Holiday Kitchen, Schudken Books, The Flavor of Jerusalem, Little, Brown and Company, and the forthcoming American Folklife Cookbook, Schocken Books which includes these recipes

70 to 80 fresh grape leaves
water
2 teaspoons salt

Freezing Grape Leaves

To freeze grape leaves, wash fresh ones in cold water. Boil water in a large saucepan, add salt and then place the leaves in stacks with dull sides up, criss-crossed in the boiling water.

Turn off the heat, cover the pan and let the leaves stand for 15 minutes. When the green leaves have turned light brown, remove from the pan, squeeze water out of the leaves and stack on a plate until they are cool. Roll up stacks, dull side up, squeeze again, cover with wax paper and freeze.

80 grape leaves, fresh or bottled
6 cups diced onions
1/3 cup pignoli nuts
1/3 cup currants
3/4 cup vegetable oil
3/4 cup chopped parsley
1/4 cup snipped fresh dill
1/2 teaspoon cinnamon
1 tablespoon salt, or to taste
1/2 teaspoon freshly ground pepper
1 cup uncooked rice
1 tablespoon sugar
1 1/2 cups stewed tomatoes
1 lemon

Yalanchi (Armenian Stuffed Grape Leaves)

Makes about 70

Saute the onions, pignoli and currants in oil until the onions are soft; add the parsley, dill, cinnamon, salt and pepper, rice, sugar and stewed tomato juice and simmer, covered, 15 minutes until the rice is half cooked.

Uncover, squeeze with half of the lemon, and continue cooking 5 more minutes. Chill.

Squeeze the water from some grape leaves, take off the stems and line the bottom of a heavy pot with the leaves, dull side up. Place another leaf, dull side up with stem removed, on a flat surface with the stem end away from you. Place 1 tablespoon of filling on the leaf near the stem end; flatten filling to the width of the leaf; then fold the stem end over the filling. Press the filling firmly underneath the leaf near the stem end; flatten filling to the width of the leaf; then fold the stem end over the filling. Press the filling firmly underneath the leaf; fold the sides in and roll from the top toward you.

Place the stuffed grape leaves in two rows in the lined pot. Add 1 cup more water. Place a small plate in the pot to keep the stuffed leaves down, then place a regular cover on the kettle. Bring to a boil and simmer for 20 minutes. Remove the covers and squeeze the remaining lemon over the leaves; simmer, covered, 10 minutes more. Allow to cool in the pot and then chill.

Serve cold as an appetizer or as a side dish with meat.

Basdek (Armenian Fruit Leathers)

12 pounds Concord, Thompson
or Ribier grapes
1 cup water
4 cups sugar or to taste
3 1/2 cups flour
1/2 cup sesame seeds
(approximately)

An Armenian trademark is *basdek*, a cousin to the apricot fruit leathers sold in Mid-Eastern grocery stores. It is one of the few cooked fruit delicacies in the Armenian cuisine and is a sign of welcome in an Armenian home. Although relatively easy to prepare, the timing is essential, as is the assistance of at least one other person. Leftover sauce makes a perfect grape pudding.

Place the grapes with the water in a large pot. Cover and cook slowly until the fruit is softened, stirring occasionally. When the fruit is squeezable, place in a large collander and knead the fruit with spoons to help squeeze the juice out.

To every 24 cups of grape juice add 4 cups sugar or to taste. Then mix a little of the juice with the flour, mixing well and gradually adding all the flour to more juice, beating well with a rotary egg beater until all the lumps from the flour are removed. Then place the juice mixture over a high heat and keep stirring until it comes to a boil, about 10-15 minutes. As soon as it starts to bubble, stir constantly for 25 minutes, lowering the

heat slightly if it boils over. Then spread a dining room table with at least three 2½' by 3½' bed sheets. Filling a saucepan with the pudding-like mass, using a large spoon, ladle it onto the sheets. Flatten out to the thickness of a pie crust and continue pouring until the sheet is filled, leaving a one inch border. Sprinkle with sesame seeds. Leave for about 4 hours. When it starts to jell, lift up and down a few times to aerate. Then hang outside over clotheslines for several days, lifting up and down occasionally, or place on a clothesline in a basement near the heater for a few days until hard as leather. Then fold in small pieces. Break off a piece to eat and serve with walnuts.

Variation: the leftover juice can be eaten as pudding or a string can be strung with walnuts and dipped 3 or 4 times into the *basdek* and eaten as candycoated nuts.

Aline Mitchell Garrett's Chicken Pie

Makes 3 dozen

Make a roux of the oil and flour, stirring constantly until brown. Add the onion, cooking until golden, and then add chicken, seasoned with salt and pepper. Add celery and green pepper. Almost cover with water and simmer, covered, about 40 minutes or until tender. Remove. Add mushrooms, scallions and parsley to the stock, simmering, uncovered, about 20 minutes more to reduce sauce. Skin and bone the chicken and return to sauce. Cool in refrigerator until ready.

Combine 8 cups of the flour, salt and 8 tablespoons of the shortening in a bowl. Add the water and stir until the ingredients come together in a ball. If needed add more water. Roll out ball of dough in a square about ½ inch thick.

Spread about 8 more tablespoons of the shortening all over the square as you would puff pastry. Sprinkle flour over the shortening and fold square, making two horizontal folds. Spread 1 tablespoon of the shortening at each end and sprinkle flour over the shortening. Fold one end over the other like an envelope. Let pastry sit in the refrigerator for 30 minutes.

Roll dough into a square again and repeat steps given in above paragraph; do not set aside. Cut dough into 12 equal squares. Cut individual squares in half and roll each one at a time in a circle of dough, filling with 1 heaping tablespoon of filling. Fold edges. Use tines of a fork to press dough together.

Combine egg yolks and a little water. Paint the pies with the egg mixture so that they will bake golden brown. Freeze on a cookie sheet, then wrap individually. To bake, heat oven to 400 degrees and bake from 20 to 30 minutes or until brown.

Filling:

4 tablespoons Crisco or oil
6 tablespoons flour
1 large diced onion
three 2½ pound chickens, cut up
salt and freshly ground pepper
to taste
3 stalks celery, chopped
1 bell pepper, chopped
two 4-oz. cans mushrooms,
drained
1 handful chopped scallions
1 handful parsley

Crust:

8 to 9 cups all-purpose flour
1 tablespoon salt
1¾ cups Crisco (about
28 tablespoons)
2½ cups cold water
3 egg yolks

Evolution of the Southern Potting Tradition

by Nancy Sweezy

Nancy Sweezy, former director of Jugtown Pottery, has been a potter for more than thirty years and has lived among the traditional potters of the central North Carolina Piedmont since 1968. She is currently an active participant on the National Endowment for the Arts Folk Arts panel.



Joe Owen turning Rebecca pitcher, Seagrove, North Carolina
Photos by Tom Jackson

The southern potting tradition has evolved through three phases, each determined by the needs and living styles of its time: early lead-glazed earthenware patterned after British and European ware; 19th century utilitarian stoneware of indigenous style; and the brightly-glazed earthenware of the past sixty years showing eclectic inspiration.

Today, the thirty-five principal traditional pottery shops still operating in the South lie in a crescent swath from Kentucky through North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi to Texas. During the 19th and early 20th centuries there were hundreds of small potteries supplying ware essential to farm and homestead throughout the agrarian South. Notes a Mississippi potter, "They were like hillside sawmills, scattered around the countryside. Sometimes they had their kickwheels out under a shade tree." Southern potting has always been a family enterprise, combined with farming, with children helping in the shop as well as in the field, learning skills as they grow. Waymon Cole remembers that, when he was young, "We didn't have to buy nothing at our house but coffee, sugar, soddy and salt."

Some simple earthenware was being produced on English coastal plantations by the mid-17th century. By 1720 William Rogers, referred to as "the poor potter of Yorktown" in reports sent back to England, was producing a substantial amount of earthenware and brown salted stoneware in Virginia despite regulations curtailing such manufacture. Lead-glazed earthenware for daily use was imported as well as produced in settlements here throughout the 18th century with techniques potters brought from Britain and northern Europe. Finer ware continued to be imported after Independence.

As interior regions of the South became settled, the pioneer homesteads needed a sturdy ware. By 1820 potters, some of them slaves, began making more durable vessels of stoneware: jars and jugs for storage, pitchers, cream pans and butter churns for milk processing and other necessary items, such as oil lamps, baby bottles, animal feeders, chamber pots and even grave markers. Early potters settled on farmland in the clay-rich piedmont crescent west or north of the sandy coastal plains. They dug clay, then moistened and ground it to a workable consistency in a simple mill rotated by the farm mule. In a small, earth-floored shop the potter sliced the clay to pick it clean of roots and gravel, worked it smooth by wedging and kneading, then turned a series of repeated shapes standing at a treadle kickwheel. The ware was burned hard with wood in a long, shallow "groundhog" kiln, built of homemade brick into a slope for insulation. The pottery was glazed with either an alkaline glaze indigenous to the region, made of ash, clay and sand or powdered glass, or by salt fuming, a technique brought from Europe. For salting, a kiln of unglazed pots is burned to high stoneware temperature, then salt is poured into the ware chamber through ports in the arch. The salt vapor-



Loading pots in rectangular downdraft kiln. Hewell Pottery, Gillsville, Georgia.

izes and its sodium content bonds with the clay of the pots to form a clear glaze of orange-peel texture.

Pots were sold at the shop but were also hauled to distant general stores by wagon, the price of ware fluctuating between four and ten cents per volume gallon. Charles Craven remembers his father quitting a day's work when he had turned one hundred gallons of ware, satisfied that the four dollar income was more than he could make at any other work. Boyce Yow recalls hauling pottery with his father from Seagrove to eastern North Carolina counties in the early 1900s:

They let you know when they had the ware ready. You'd pack it in straw, or it would break running over the roots. The wagon had a white cover on it, kinda pitched up and stuck out over the front end. Had narrow wheels that cut down ruts. We hauled all the old pots — churns, crocks, flowerpots. We'd buy up other stuff they didn't have down there — dried fruits, peanuts. Sometimes we'd trade coffee, lard, plow points, axe handles. Bring 'em back for people here.

After the Civil War, a commercial market for whiskey jugs developed. New shops sprang up and old ones increased production to fill the new demand as well as the continuing farm needs. In the late 1900s many potters built large round "beehive" kilns or raised the shallow groundhog to a tunnel shape. Some began using commercially available brown Albany slip or off-white Bristol glazes.

Early in the century the enactment of Prohibition and the economic changes brought by the first World War precipitated a decline in the need for jugs and the farm ware, but, as potter Evan Brown from Arden, North Carolina noted, "The demand for churns didn't just up and disappear." In sparsely populated rural areas the style of living changed slowly; it was not until the 1940s and 1950s that several family enterprises in the deep South turned from a peripheral line of flowerpots to full production of a wide range of unglazed garden ware.

In more industrialized areas of the mid-South, however, the old potteries had to find a new market in the 1920s. During the Depression years many shops adapted their "bigware" skills successfully to making brightly-



Wood firing of tunnel kiln. Lanier Meaders Pottery, Cleveland, Georgia



Wood fired, salt glazed pitcher. Charles Craven Pottery, Raleigh, North Carolina

Suggested reading

Burnison, John A. *Brothers in Clay: The Story of Georgia Folk Pottery*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983.

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This article presents background information for the exhibition *Southeastern Potteries*, organized by the Office of Folklife Programs for the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service. The exhibition will open June 27 in the National Museum of American History, adjacent to the Festival site, and continue until August 19.

glazed, decorative earthenware urns and jars — “big enough for a child to hide in” — for patio, porch and garden. World War II depressed this pottery market and the small family shops survived through the 1950s by making ware “18 inches on down” for the home, as well as wholesale tourist items.

The range of the old stoneware forms had been fairly narrow and well-defined. To establish a market for homeware the potters had to produce a wide range of forms and colors that required more refined turning skills, a new knowledge of complex glazes, and attention to aesthetics as well as function. As Dorothy Auman remembers:

People were so picky. You were trying to appeal to them enough to buy, so you make many, many shapes. The very same bowl shape ended up in several forms — it’s been crimped, fluted, pulled in and made a squat basket.

In this period, labor-saving machinery was devised, kilns were improved and fired with modern fuels. Today, the potteries with roots in tradition extend from small shops, burning churns and jugs with wood, to the large horticultural shops, with specialized turners and semi-automated equipment. Most of the shops remain simple and labor-intensive with an assortment of mechanical aids built or adapted by the potters for their needs.

While the product of each period of pottery making in the South has differed, certain elements of form have been retained which link the earlier types of ware to that which is traditional today. These elements have been formed by the potters’ view of the craft as functional and are inherent to their method of shaping the ware. Because the potter expects to make many utilitarian pots, he or she turns a series of one shape — twenty casseroles or a hundred mugs — completing each form on the wheel. The turning is rapid, deftly economical. Because each form is completed on the wheel without later trimming, the spontaneous integrity of the pot’s shaping is caught in a swift moment. Pots shaped completely by the turning of plastic clay are, of necessity, wide based, giving them an earth-bound, practical quality.

Overall, the production processes, even when aided by mechanical means, follow the inherent rhythms of earlier patterns, from the digging of clay in dry season, daily turning and periodic firing, to passing skills from one generation to the next. Many potters agree with one who says, “It’s just something to make a living.” But, it is not a living that many, once involved in it, have given up.

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The Alaska program has been made possible by the state of Alaska Department of Commerce and Economic Development through its Division of Tourism and the Alaska Seafood Marketing Institute. Additional funding has been made available through private and corporate donations.

The Grand Generation: Folklore and Aging has been made possible through the generous support of the American Association of Retired Persons in celebration of 25 years of service to older Americans, the Atlantic Richfield Foundation, and the National Institute on Aging, National Institutes of Health.

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